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THE conference report on the Cummins-Esch bill for the control of the railways passed the House, by a vote of 249 to 150, on February 21, and the Senate, by a vote of 47 to 17, two days later. As had been predicted, the provision in the Cummins bill for compulsory arbitration of labor disputes was dropped, and the clause authorizing rates sufficient to give the railways 5½ per cent. return on their property for two years from March 1 was retained. The Interstate Commerce Commission, whose membership is increased from nine to eleven persons and whose powers are substantially enlarged, is authorized, moreover, to grant one-half of 1 per cent. additional income for betterments and improvements. Earnings in excess of 6 per cent. are to be divided equally between the reserve of the carrier in question and the Federal contingent fund, which will be available for loans to develop transportation. A Railroad Board of Appeals is provided for, consisting of three men nominated by the railway companies, three nominated by the employees, and three appointed by the President to represent the public; this Board to make awards in labor controversies, but without power to compel acceptance except through the pressure of public opinion. Immediately upon the publication of the conference report, the American Federation of Labor declared its opposition to the scheme, chiefly because of the 5½ per cent. guarantee. *The Nation* has already advocated the Plumb plan, and, although the present measure may serve as a makeshift for a time, we have no confidence in the stability or justice of any scheme that does not give a greater measure of control both to the employees and to the public.

GENERAL satisfaction will be felt at the action of the United States Shipping Board in rejecting all bids thus far received for the German passenger steamships which were seized in American ports during the war. This leaves the disposition of the vessels open until Congress has had a chance to discuss the question. Doubtless the Shipping Board is right in its contention that the sale of the German passenger liners is in accordance with the existing Government policy of returning the merchant fleet as rapidly as possible to private ownership. It is right also in declaring that, if the existing policy is to be changed, Congress must authorize some other. The Shipping Board was ill-advised, however, in proceeding on such short public notice to sacrifice the cream of its fleet, and it is mistaken in its assumption that the retention of some of the German vessels means the nationalization of shipping in general. Many persons who do not advocate the latter course believe that the Government should nevertheless maintain a certain number of fast passenger vessels, even at a financial loss, for the sake of improved mail service and the opening of new trade routes. It is known that the German passenger liners were used exceedingly hard by the navy as transports during the war, and the Shipping Board estimates that it would cost $75,000,000 to put them in proper condition; but this should not deter Congress or the country from discussing and defining a shipping policy before these vessels are allowed to slip out of Government hands. Meanwhile, it is interesting to learn tardily from President Wilson that, as far back as last May, he agreed that the United States should make certain payments on account of these ships to the German reparation fund. Of course we should pay full value for all of them, but the sum should be applicable as an offset for claims of American citizens against Germany arising out of the war.

THE continued discussion of whether or not Mr. Wilson's health is such as to enable him to perform the duties of his office has at last produced some proposals of legislation looking to a definition of disability. Representative Fess, of Ohio, has introduced a bill which proposes an amendment of the Constitution, under which the determination of disability would devolve upon the Supreme Court whenever Congress, by concurrent resolution, authorized that tribunal to act. A bill introduced by Representative Rogers, of Massachusetts, also proposes to leave the decision of the matter to the Supreme Court, but without amending the Constitution. The question of procedure is important. The Constitution, in terms at least, does not

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intrust to Congress the power or duty of deciding when a condition of disability exists save where both the President and the Vice-President are involved; Congress may then determine, as it has done, what person shall act as President. The Fess proposal, accordingly, has this to commend it, that it goes to the root of the difficulty by correcting a serious defect of the Constitution. The Rogers bill, on the other hand, assuming that its constitutionality is not in doubt, has the advantage of providing a method which, if Congress were to act promptly, might if necessary be availed of in the present emergency. Action of some sort is necessary, however. The public has been deluded and put off too long with encouraging reports of Mr. Wilson's improvement, and has suffered too much from his enforced retirement from active duty, to view without alarm either a continuance or a possible recurrence of the same unhappy situation.

DESPITE the admitted defeat, through timely mobilization of public opposition, of the various bills recently introduced in Congress to restrict freedom of speech in time of peace, it is believed at Washington that further attempts will be made to attain the same end. Formidable industrial interests whose object is to fetter organized labor will, of course, continue their propaganda; and it is worth recalling that, during the early weeks of American participation in the war, a comparatively mild censorship bill was defeated, but that after the public had been sufficiently aroused by a mass of almost wholly unfounded stories of "spies" and "plots," far more drastic measures were passed with ease. Attorney General Palmer is still chafing over what he is pleased to call the hiatus in the present law. That law provides for the punishment of any individual who attempts, or incites an attempt, to overthrow the government by violence. It also provides for the punishment of two or more persons who conspire to overthrow the government by violence, even when no overt act is committed. Mr. Palmer wants to extend this legislation to reach one person even when there is no overt act. This is precisely what the framers of the Constitution sought to avoid, knowing that any such law must necessarily give the Executive and the courts the power to place their own interpretation on the intentions of every individual who expresses his ideas publicly. This would mean the end of free speech.

ATTORNEY GENERAL PALMER, tired for the moment of tilting, like a Don Quixote, against the windmills of the profiteers, has turned to the ancient sport of "trust busting." We say "ancient" in the sense that anything that goes back fifteen years is hoary with age; and the dissolution of trusts was a pastime which reached the height of its popularity during the Roosevelt régime. One of its chief virtues was its harmlessness—to the Government and especially to the trusts. Even so, it would seem that "trust busting" could not be more harmless or futile than present attacks on the profiteer; but apparently Attorney General Palmer thinks that it is, as witness his suit against 333 hardwood lumber companies. Fresh from his victory in dissolving the Beef Trust at Chicago (which some persons are cruel enough to say left the packers virtually where they were), Mr. Palmer has now filed a bill in the United States District Court at Memphis, Tennessee, charging conspiracy to restrain trade, in violation of the Sherman law, against defendants scattered over sixteen States. An indulgent public that has smiled at the Attorney General's efforts to reduce the high cost of living by issuing statements to the newspapers may now laugh at his attempt to right the abuses of the lumber trade by invoking the Sherman act. But a potential candidate for the Presidency must hit on some way of showing the people that he is striving mightily in their interest, and no one should know better than Mr. Palmer how gullible the public is.

MR. HOOVER, although not a candidate, nevertheless goes on elaborating his personal platform. In his address at New York, on February 17, before the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, he set forth at considerable length his views on a number of public questions, in addition to discussing more fully one or two of the points referred to in his statement of February 9. He is convinced that the Federal Government is over-centralized, that the country is "swamped with debt and burdened with taxation," and that "speculation and waste are rampant." The greatest problems of government control which now confront us are those of the railways and of shipping. Mr. Hoover is in favor of returning the railways to their owners, but he admits, very significantly, that such return "places predominant private operation upon its final trial." "If," he declares, "instant energy, courage, and large vision in the owners should prove lacking in meeting the immediate situation, we will be faced with a reaction that will drive the country to some other form of control." He is equally opposed, apparently, to government control of shipping, although "we may find it desirable to hold a considerable government fleet to build up trade routes in expansion of our trade, even at some loss in operation." Mr. Hoover favors a budget system, and approves of collective bargaining. He is still hostile to socialism because it destroys individual initiative, but he perceives the danger which lies in the control of the country "by the 'interests' and other forms of our domestic reactionaries." All this is interesting, even though it is not yet clear with what party, if any, Mr. Hoover is likely to find favor.

THE platform adopted by the unofficial State Republican convention at New York, on February 20, is an interesting specimen of the platform-makers' art. Following a "reaffirmation" of "unyielding devotion" to the Constitution and its guarantees, the platform goes on to denounce "all forms of violence and revolutionary agitation," and "the cruel and relentless domination of a class bent not upon protecting liberty and equality of opportunity, but upon exploiting all who are not of their own kind and group." The reference, presumably, is to Communists and Bolshevists, although neither they nor the Socialists are specifically named. The treaty should be ratified immediately, with reservations substantially the same as those proposed by Senator Lodge; but the original form of Article X of the covenant is particularly assailed, and the establishment of a high court of justice for the settlement of international disputes is called for. Strikes are not condemned, but they should be made "increasingly unnecessary and infrequent by the better organization of industry." For the rest, the platform approves a budget system, insists upon protection, opposes both government ownership and the Plumb plan for the railways, calls for government aid to shipping, censures the Federal Trade Commission, brands the recent

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administration of the immigration laws as "shocking in the extreme," and vigorously denounces President Wilson for his course in war and peace. One looks in vain in the document for any criticism of the action of the Assembly at Albany, or for any allusion to prohibition; nor is any explanation offered for the failure of the Republicans, who have controlled both branches of Congress for ten months, to launch the program of reform for which the platform calls.

WHETHER the Constantinople decision was made out of deference to French suspicion of British intentions in the Near East, or because Great Britain fears its Moslem subjects in India more than its Christian subjects at home, makes little difference in the final outcome. The salient fact is that, after much talk of expelling the Turk from European soil, Constantinople and probably a small amount of territory adjacent to it are to be restored to Turkish rule. Conditions are made, of course; the Turk must behave, otherwise the terms of the treaty may be "modified." The Armenians, for example, are henceforth to be unmolested. The Armenians, meanwhile, are reported to be subjected constantly to persecution and massacre; but the Supreme Council is said to have taken note of the fact that such reports have emanated largely from "Armenian sources." If the Council waits until reports of Armenian massacres emanate from Turkish sources before modifying the treaty, the Moslem mind may be at rest. Meanwhile, English opinion is making itself heard in the matter of the Constantinople decision. Members of all parties have presented to the Government a memorial protesting against the terms of settlement; and Lord Bryce, in a vigorous article in the London *Observer*, has attacked the Allied policy of leniency toward Turkey. It is probable that debate on the Turkish treaty in the House of Commons will develop even more opposition to the settlement. Whether or not the United States will take part in the controversy depends upon the next move of President Wilson. As the United States is not at war with Turkey, it is not clear that this country has any direct interest in the matter.

ALTHOUGH the reply of the Dutch Government to the second Allied note regarding the Kaiser has not yet been sent, it is reported upon what appears to be good authority that the veiled demand for the deportation of the Kaiser will not be complied with. Dutch newspapers call attention to the fact that while the first note, in which the surrender of the Kaiser to the Allies was asked for, treated the Kaiser as an accused person for whose trial a special court was to be provided, the second note virtually assumes to condemn and punish him without any trial whatever. It is to be hoped that the Dutch Government will deliver as crushing a rejoinder to this second astounding demand as it did to the first one. Germany, meantime, is preparing to prosecute in its own courts all persons accused of war crimes against whom there appears to be clear evidence of guilt. Unless, however, the Supreme Court at Leipzig, which is already in arrears with its work, is enlarged or a new tribunal set up, it will be difficult to hasten the trials, especially as many witnesses, some of whom are no longer in Germany, cannot be quickly found. What will be done with a number of alleged offenders who are in the hands of the Allies has not, apparently, been determined; nor is it known that the Allies propose to bring to trial any of their own nationals against whom the Germans have made grave charges. The Allied proceeding ought to be dropped, partly because it is illegal and unworkable, and partly because this is no time in which to stir up military hero worship in Germany or anywhere else.

SEVEN British military men and civil officials who have held important positions under the British Government in Russia during the past two years have joined in a memorial to Mr. Lloyd George urging recognition of the Soviet Government. The crimes which the Lenin Government has committed, they point out, should not prevent recognition, in view of the fact that the anti-Bolshevist Governments in southern Russia and Siberia which the Allies in one way or another have aided have not shown themselves "superior to their enemies in humanity, while in energy, union, and resource they have shown themselves inferior." The best protection that could be given to Western Europe against Bolshevist propaganda would be "the reopening of Russia to commerce, intercourse, and observation." Moreover, "without a general peace the resources of Russia cannot be made available"; and if famine were to appear "in any region east of the Rhine," outbreaks similar to Bolshevism in Russia would be the inevitable result. The memorialists urge, further, that the longer recognition is delayed the stronger will German influence in that country become, and the greater will be the friction between Russia and Great Britain everywhere. Among the signers are Lieutenant-General Sir Hubert Gough, head of the British Military Mission to Northwestern Russia; Colonel F. G. March, General Gough's chief of staff; and Mr. D. Spring-Rice, lately financial adviser to the British Mission to Russia and to the High Commissioner of the Rhine. When men of this type put their names to a public statement, politicians like Mr. Lloyd George may well take heed. The *Manchester Guardian* has recently remarked that if Bolshevism in Russia is the colossal failure that its enemies represent it to be, the best thing to do is to reopen communication and let the world see for itself how great the failure has been.

THE American University Union, having accomplished the war work for which it was organized, now plans to continue its existence in Paris as a social center for American students in France and as a general clearing-house for French and American universities. It has begun its new services by announcing in the United States a set of courses in French civilization which the University of Paris will inaugurate on the first of March. Lectures on the language, literature, geography, history, ideas, and art of France will be given at the Sorbonne. At the Faculté de Droit there will be offered lectures on public, international, and private law, civil and criminal procedure, and economics. The material offered is unusually tempting. At least an elementary knowledge of French will be taken for granted; otherwise any student may enter any of these courses and may become a candidate for the special diploma awarded. It is tragic to reflect that the thousands of young college men recently in France with the American army had no such introduction to the life and ideals of France, but instead picked up here and there, in unlikely and unrepresentative places, a body of opinions regarding the French which have the disadvantage of being almost unanimously wrong. Cannot the American University Union contrive to have those youths conscripted again and sent back to attend these courses?

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The Adriatic Imbroglio

THE controversy over the claims of Italy and Jugoslavia which Mr. Wilson has once more stirred up presents a curious mixture of fact and personal or official pique. Thanks to the secret diplomacy which Mr. Wilson and his Allied associates persistently practise, the texts of the notes which have aroused two continents were at first withheld from the public, although their essential contents were allowed to be known. On December 9 the representatives of Great Britain, France, and the United States at Paris agreed in writing to a certain settlement of the Adriatic problem. On January 14 the representatives of Great Britain, France, and Italy concluded at London a new agreement on the same subject, more acceptable to Italy and less acceptable to Jugoslavia than the Paris agreement of December. The chief differences between the two agreements are that, under the London arrangement, Italy was to be given control of a strip of coast, inhabited principally by Croats, connecting Fiume with Istria; and that the boundary line between Italy and the Austrian province of Carniola was to be carried further to the east in the neighborhood of Trieste, in order to give greater military security to that city. The city of Fiume, moreover, was to be separated from the State of Fiume, which was to act as a buffer between Istria and Croatia. On January 20 the Government of Jugoslavia was informed that, unless it accepted the London settlement, the provisions of the secret Treaty of London of 1915, which has never been officially published and of which the Jugoslav Government had no official knowledge, would be applied. The Treaty of London draws the boundary line between Italy and Austria considerably further east than does either the Paris or the London settlement, but does not assign Fiume to Italy.

In a note which has not yet been published, Mr. Wilson has now informed the Governments of Great Britain and France that he cannot accept the London settlement. He stands by the Paris agreement of December, and declines to admit the right of Great Britain, France, and Italy to frame a settlement of the Adriatic controversy which supersedes the Paris agreement without consulting him. In a postscript to the note he is said to have threatened the withdrawal of the United States from further concern with the European peace adjustment, together with the withdrawal of his signature from the treaty guaranteeing American and British protection to France, if his protest is not heeded. The Allied reply, which also has not been made public, repudiates, it is said, the charge of bad faith; minimizes the importance of the cession of a small strip of territory to Italy in comparison with the need of establishing peace in Europe; points out that the idea of a buffer state which Mr. Wilson contemplates has been rejected by Jugoslavia and cannot be enforced by the Allies; and urges that the withdrawal of Mr. Wilson from the Anglo-American agreement in aid of France will "gravely injure" the "new French policy," in addition to being itself an act of bad faith. The nature of Mr. Wilson's reply is not yet known, but reports to the effect that the Department of State has taken great pains in the preparation of the new note would seem to indicate that both its language and its substance are regarded as serious.

So much for the facts and the alleged facts. To the extent to which the controversy has to do merely with the settlement of the Adriatic dispute, the people of the United States have no interest in it whatever. The determination of who shall control Fiume, or whether Italy shall reach that city by land or by water, is not worth the expenditure of a single American dollar or the blood of a single American soldier or sailor. If, when the settlement is announced, it is found to prejudice American interests or endanger the peace of the world, that situation can be dealt with by diplomatic means when it arises. As for the Anglo-Franco-American alliance, it should never have been signed by Mr. Wilson, not only because it was a flagrant departure from the traditional policy of the United States, but also because any such alliance is in direct contravention of the spirit of the League of Nations.

Now that we are imbroiled, however, we must of course go on, at least for a short distance. It is, indeed, this unwelcome obligation that gives to Mr. Wilson's expression of irritation its chief importance. Mr. Wilson is aggrieved that Great Britain and France, having joined with him in an agreement about the Adriatic muddle, should have made another and different agreement with Italy on the same subject without consulting him. In so far as the Powers in question have been guilty of discourtesy or bad faith, they are certainly entitled to feel the weight of Mr. Wilson's displeasure; but a decision on the merits of the case is not so easy. Why is Mr. Wilson so obstinate about Fiume when he swallowed Danzig and its corridor, for example, without a tremor? Is the United States, or is it not, still a party to the European peace settlement? Mr. Wilson, apparently, assumes that it is a party, and that he is as much entitled to be consulted as ever. Yet the United States is not now, and for some time has not been, represented in the Allied deliberations at Paris, and appears to have been kept informed only by courtesy, in so far as it has been informed at all, of what was going on. It is not represented on any of the commissions which have been created under the Treaty of Versailles, and has taken no part in organizing the League of Nations. Precisely what is the position of the United States?

If, when all the correspondence has been published, it shall appear that any discourtesy has been shown to the United States, Mr. Wilson will have the country with him in calling the offending Powers to account. We cannot but think, however, that the manner of Mr. Wilson's irruption is unfortunate. Politically, moreover, both houses of Congress are against him, and his own party is divided on the treaty. It is too late in the day to make capital by denouncing the secret Treaty of London; while for Mr. Wilson to withdraw his signature from the Anglo-Franco-American alliance because Great Britain, France, and Italy will not do what he wants done in the Adriatic, would be at least as great a breach of faith as the London agreement of January 14 is alleged to have been. Mr. Wilson, in short, appears to have put himself in a position where his determination to have his own way, and to veto any action of the Allies which does not meet with his approval, threatens to destroy such confidence as Europe still has in the wisdom of his policies or the unselfishness of his intentions. Congress and the country may well look forward with apprehension to the possible recurrence of similar irritating episodes in the year for which Mr. Wilson's term of office has yet to run.

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Organizing the Intellectuals

IN Europe, if not in the United States, the intellectual is awakening. He is throwing aside his academic privilege, his social and political isolation from affairs, his abstraction and detachment in practical matters, and with a new humility is offering his services and his education in the cause of internationalism and social democracy. The intellectuals are coming to be accepted throughout Europe, as they were in Russia before and during the Revolution, as a group with certain definite characteristics and mental assets which they are under obligation to use freely and unselfishly for the common good. It is true that, throughout the ages, the mold of society has been more or less shaped by the activities of comparatively small groups of those who, inept in the more strenuous concerns of life, were able to think and talk and write. Socrates and Aristotle, Abelard and Erasmus, Montaigne and Voltaire, Marx and Mill—these intellectuals and hundreds like them have altered, by indirect and unostentatious means, the minds of leaders who in turn have altered the course of history. But until recently the intellectual class as such has been rather out of touch with the needs and aspirations of the common people. It needed the swift shock and change of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries to prove to the intellectuals that, in order to serve the need of their time, they must organize and make their ideas potent in workshops and streets.

The first group to answer the call of the new age was the Fabian Society, founded at London by a hardy group of middle-class socialists who aimed, by patient and indirect means, to replace the existing oppressive order of society by one in which equality of opportunity should be the rule. To this end the Fabian Society affiliated with the Labor party, but at the same time adopted what came to be known as the "policy of permeation," whereby its members acted through a great variety of organizations, and even through government commissions, to agitate and educate. They deluged trade unions and the public at large with tracts and pamphlets, they organized courses and gave lectures, they founded a summer school and a research department. They expended their educational advantages freely, and the labor movement benefited, largely without knowing it, from the untiring energies of this group of intellectuals.

The war was a new challenge to the intellectuals of Europe. Unprepared and helpless, and for the most part unaware of the real issues involved, the intellectuals as a class suffered for the moment a moral and mental defeat. Here and there, above the battle or in it, some scholar or man of letters stood out whose mental integrity was not warped either by the strain of war or by the corroding influence of organized, subsidized hate. But it was not until the war was over that the European intellectuals saw a new duty facing them—the building of an international brotherhood of decency and reason. It is interesting that this new movement, still somewhat intangible and almost mystical in its aims, has turned for its support to the revolutionary working-class movement. It has ignored, or rejected as hopeless, the schemes for international amity concocted by the statesmen at Paris. It has forsworn leagues of nations, supported by competitive nationalities. It has realized, with an understanding born of disillusion and bitter experience, the economic basis of the present system of ruin; and with no hesitation it has placed itself on the side of those forces which it believes to be moving toward the light. *Clarté* was formed in France by a group of intellectuals headed by Henri Barbusse. The aim of the group was nothing less than the ending of war by a change in the economic system which breeds war, and by the more elusive hope of supplanting nationalistic conceptions with the conception of world citizenship. The idea of *Clarté* spread to England, where a branch of the society has been formed at London.

The significance of the *Clarté* movement is undoubtedly enhanced by the importance of the names which appear in the list of its supporters. Henri Barbusse, Blasco Ibañez, Georg Brandes, Georges Duhamel, Anatole France, Ellen Key, Andreas Latzko, Raymond Lefebvre, Charles Gide, E. D. Morel, Jules Romains, René Schickelé, Bernard Shaw, Bertrand Russell, Israel Zangwill, Josiah Wedgwood, Robert Williams, Siegfried Sassoon—such names as these stand for the strongest faith and the clearest vision to be found in the intellectual class of Western Europe. At the same time intellectual liberalism is making itself felt in Germany through the *Heidelberger Vereinigung*, a group of men and women who have banded together to secure international peace through a modification of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, and through a general publication in all countries of the evidence relating to war responsibility and war crimes. More nationalistic in spirit and less radical than *Clarté*, this group is yet working for internationalism and is supported by such publicists and scholars as M. J. Bonn, Hans Delbrück, Konstantin Fehrenbach, Max Montgelas, Lina Richter, and Walter Schücking.

Where, meantime, it may be asked, are the intellectuals of the United States, and what are their concerns in the present crisis? The Committee of Forty-eight has attempted with some success to bring together certain detached radicals, men without a party, and to frame a program that can be brought to bear upon a Government dominated by reactionary ignorance. The spirit animating this group presents curious contrasts to that which is organizing itself in Europe. The Committee of Forty-eight exhibits the typical American terror of terms. Obviously, its members are socialists of a sort; but where *Clarté* stands for "international socialism," the Committee of Forty-eight declares for only "a few fundamental principles," in order not to "create discord" and scatter its energies. Presumably for the same reason, it says not a word about international affairs; Russia gets no comfort from its program; so far as these intellectual radicals are concerned, the treaty of peace may stand in its present form. The Committee exhibits the equally typical American trait of proceeding at once to form a national organization, to call a national convention, and to issue an appeal to all who feel as they do to "come together . . . in a new, great, and successful party." While it may be doubted if the creation of a fourth party by a group with no clear-cut economic interests can do more than complicate the political situation, the ideas which dominate the Committee of Forty-eight cannot but be useful. This group represents the only efforts that are being made in the United States to enlist in behalf of the new order the trained intelligence of the country. Perhaps, as time passes and the need for caution lessens, the Committee may take example from similar groups in Europe and make its voice heard wherever freedom is menaced; in the meantime its efforts, particularly in the direction of educating and humanizing public opinion, should be encouraged if not wholly subscribed to.

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Farm Life and Reconstruction

FORTY thousand farmers, replying to a questionnaire of the Post Office Department, are reported to be positively alarming in their fault-finding, so much so that the Department speaks of "disastrous consequences" if the situation is not remedied. The returns foreshadow a serious falling off in agricultural production because of lack of labor and want of inducements to plant large acreages. The drift to the cities is, it appears, greater than ever; the dearth of rural schools, many of which are now closing for want of teachers, is more discouraging than ever, and skilled farm hands are almost unknown. Most important of all, of course, is the fact that, despite the high prices for foodstuffs, the farmer is in the main no better off than he was before. In portions of Illinois and Indiana he has done well, but the 40,000 protestants to the Post Office Department are discouraged by the financial returns for their unceasing efforts. More than that, they are incensed at the high prices which their products bring in the city markets; by the fact, for example, that the milk for which they receive five or six cents sells for fifteen cents to the consumer. They cannot believe that the increased costs of the retailer compel such prices. So aroused, indeed, are some of the correspondents that members of the Senate Post Office Committee declared that the letters smacked of full-fledged Bolshevism.

Naturally, a farmer sees red when, as Senator Capper reports, the price of his live-stock "has declined nearly 50 per cent., bringing many farmers to the verge of bankruptcy"; while at the same time the high prices which the consumer pays for meat are virtually unchanged, particularly in the case of pork, although there was a surplus product last year of more than 1,500,000,000 pounds in addition to large quantities in storage. At the same time, when the farmer asks the price of laths for a needed cottage he is informed that in the short interval of ten months there has been a rise in price of nearly 250 per cent. Is it any wonder that farm hands take to the factories, and that in New York, for example, excellent farm land goes begging? Senator Capper declares that if this "orgy of greed" of the profiteers is not checked, we shall continue "to drift on the rocks, and no one can foretell what looked-for or unlooked-for disaster may occur."

We have cited the case of the farmers, not because it is altogether exceptional in American economic life, but because it is fundamental and clear-cut. The question is, what is going to be done about it? Is there to be, perhaps, another Congressional inquiry? There have been no less than sixty-one such inquiries authorized to date by the present Congress. Are we to adopt the socialistic recommendation of Governor Smith, of New York, that the State take over the control and distribution of the milk supply—which would mean that the State would shortly be the only dealer in milk? Or are we to leave to private initiative the task of finding some better method of marketing? Is there no recourse save to accept the conclusion of Senator Capper and the Attorney General that there must be an "active prosecution of profiteers, followed by their imprisonment"? This last, in our judgment, will not help at all. Senator Capper goes a step further; he wishes a law "requiring every manufacturer to attach to every article he produces the exact price he receives for it." Even this would help little.

None of these proposals does more than recognize the trouble. As in the matter of the mines and of the railways, what is needed is a grappling with the problem as a whole. There is need of clear understanding that the entire existing system of production is breaking down; that homeopathic remedies will no longer avail; that government management of milk routes and milk shops will inevitably result in the demand for government-owned meat and vegetable shops; that not even the excellent recommendations of the Osborn Commission in New York, a few years ago, will help now. All that the State of New York has done with its Food Commissioners has ended in little else than sordid bickerings. There can be no lasting solution of the problem until it is studied not only from the point of view of the farmer's plight, but from that, for example, of railway rates and terminal distribution as well. Further, there must be from the beginning a willingness to see that it is reconstruction in the large sense, and not merely alteration or partial repair of the existing machinery, that is necessary. For instance, the time has come to ask whether it is not possible to eliminate the middleman altogether. Why is it that the co-operative system gains ground by leaps and bounds the world over? Why is it that 25,000,000 Russians are so well and efficiently organized and supplied through their coöperative societies that the Allies think they see in those societies the best instrument for the rehabilitation of Russia? It is because coöperative societies are organized to supply goods to their members at cost, with no expense for middlemen and no profits for anybody. America has much to learn from Russia, as well as from other European countries, in this respect. The time has come to inquire whether co-operation, if applied to our farm chaos, does not go far to furnish a remedy. What the United States needs today is political leadership able to plan the fundamental remodelling of these and other elements of our economic life.

Wanted—A Responsible Government

MR. LANSING'S enforced retirement from the office of Secretary of State directs attention again to the anomalous position of the body commonly known as the Cabinet. Mr. Lansing was one of the Federal officials whom the Constitution describes as "heads of departments." Like all of his associate heads, he was appointed by the President and confirmed, as a matter of course, by the Senate. His duty was to administer the business of the Department of State in accordance with the wishes of the President. Whatever he did was, from a constitutional point of view, the act of the President; he was, so to speak, the President acting in the particular field of foreign relations. For the general conduct of public business, on the other hand, or for the working out of what is familiarly spoken of as the policy of the Administration, neither he nor his colleagues had either individual or collective responsibility. The President was free to consult him or not, as the President chose; whenever the President wished it, he might be dismissed. Mr. Lansing, like every other Cabinet officer, was a chief clerk, with only so much discretionary power as commonly attaches to such an office or as the President, from time to time, may have been disposed to accord to him.

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How completely such a group of executive functionaries as Mr. Lansing and his colleagues have been differs from a Ministry or Cabinet in the European sense must be apparent at a glance. Neither individually nor collectively is the Cabinet a responsible body. While its members, at least when appointed, are naturally persons who are politically in agreement with the President, they are not as a group the constitutional advisers of the President. The Constitution expressly provides that the President "may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices"; but the President is under no obligation to consult such officers upon any other matter or as a body; nor is it, apparently, expected that they shall offer their advice unless it is called for. Nor is the Cabinet responsible to Congress. It does not necessarily represent the party which for the time being has a majority in either the House or the Senate, nor is its tenure of office affected by any change in the political complexion of Congress. It cannot urge any action upon Congress, because it has no policy; it cannot be criticized because, so far as the Constitution or the laws are concerned, it has no existence.

It is a fair question whether a system which so directly encourages all the evils of personal government and Executive autocracy ought not, in the interest of a healthy political life, to be ended. None of the various changes in the system which have been proposed from time to time go below the surface. Seats in either house of Congress, for example, with the privilege of participation in debate, would not alter the constitutional status of the Cabinet in the least; nor would the Cabinet become a Ministry if its members were elected by Congress or even by popular vote. The essence of Cabinet government, in every country in which the system exists—and it exists in most self-governing countries except the United States and in South America—is the responsibility of the executive to the legislature; and so long as the heads of departments, sharing with the President the immense power which the Constitution gives to the Executive, are in no way politically responsible to Congress for their acts save through the process of impeachment, we cannot have true Cabinet or Ministerial government in the United States.

It is time for the American people to think seriously about their Constitution. Whatever the virtues of the Constitution in other respects, the system of government which it provides is the most rigid now existing. Both the President and the Congress are elected for fixed terms. No matter what changes public opinion may undergo, the political complexion of the House of Representatives cannot be changed in less than two years nor that of the Senate in less than four. Between Congress and the President there is no necessary political harmony; at the present time there is no actual harmony whatever, and public business is well-nigh at a standstill; yet the public, which suffers from the antagonism, cannot hope for even a partial remedy until after March 4, 1921. As for the President, his powers, largely uncontrolled and uncontrollable, are today greater than those of any sovereign or Prime Minister in the world. These things ought not so to be. If the social evils from which the country has long suffered are to be removed, if the ominous unrest which grows daily in volume and intensity is to be allayed, it can only be through the establishment of responsible government in place of the present outworn system.

Gardens

IN this winter of our discontent let us think of gardens. The sun looks north again, March is stirring somewhere, and in a few stubborn weeks there will be another green spring with loud, cheerful robins, insistent grass, and buds ready to turn pink or white at the warm touch of the advancing season. We have lived long enough on the stores we laid up from the harvest of last year. Like bears, we have grown thin in our hollow trees and must resume our occupations. Too much winter can destroy the genial sap that spring annually renews in the veins of men as surely as in trees. Cities, which have built strong barriers against the seasons, forget them, but they bring morals no less than weather. The seasons are teachers that never cease teaching, and examples that never fail to move us. Our tempers follow the sun.

Though it is true that the senses relax and ripen in a garden, a garden is more than a sensual delight. Roses grow there, and radishes; so does patience. That man who puts seed into its furrow at the same moment tucks his hand through the crooked elbow of Time and falls into step. He knows he must abide the days, must endure hot and cold, wet and dry, the ups and downs of immeasurable nature. Infected almost at once with peace, he feels his will surrendering its fretful individuality to the ampler cause with which he has involved his fortunes. He sees that he cannot profitably scold the rain; he cannot wear a chip on his shoulder and dare the wind to knock it off. The stature of his will shrinks when he learns how little he means to the rain or the wind; and the stature of his wisdom increases. Vigilant of course he must remain. He must take quick advantage of sunshine, as sailors do of the tides. He must foreknow the storm by its signs. In the long run, his prosperity will depend upon his eyes and hands, but he will be aware that he thrives by virtue of the patience with which he tends a process which is ageless and immortal.

Nor will he be patient merely for hours or months. As the seasons depart and recur year after year, he will begin to realize what centuries mean, epochs, and æons. It is the weather which varies, not the seasons. The gardener in his little plot looks out less feverishly at elections and revolutions than other men. He has seen clouds before and has lived through them confident of the sun. From an experience stronger than dogma he knows that just after night there is dawn, and that every winter is succeeded by a spring. What in another might be a shallow optimism is in him a faith rooted in subsoil and bedrock, bred and nourished in the vast, slow, undeviating habits of soil and sky. He is conservative because he has seen the seasons perennially pass one into the other without convulsions. He is radical because each spring he has had to set the spade into his sleepy ground, has had to tear it open and establish the new harvest on fresh seed. Others may stutter about the strife of old and new, but the gardener sees old and new eternally linked together with human toil. He perceives that history continues, for he has observed the grass. He understands, not dimly but certainly, that the tread of armies or the din of melting dynasties and shattered governments may indeed touch him in his garden, may even drive him forth into desolation, but that the work of the garden and the duty of the gardener will go on. To the end of the world there must be seed and toil and harvests.

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Drifting Toward a Labor Government

By J. RAMSAY MACDONALD

London, January 20

THE drift of British politics continues to afford the student of mass opinion much food for reflection, but the material for that reflection is not to be found in our press. The year ended with a most remarkable series of by-elections, culminating in the decisive labor gain secured in Spen Valley by a candidate who throughout the war has been a sturdy champion of the Independent Labor party. During the life of this Parliament there have been twelve elections (three are now going on) at which Labor has polled 113,783 votes, and the Coalition only 104,483. Whilst these contests were being waged one gathered with difficulty from our newspapers what Labor was fighting about; indeed the fact that Labor candidates were running at all was barely mentioned. Our press is in a difficult position. The Liberal sections are engaged in the apparently impossible task of resuscitating their party, and to that end suppress news of Labor activities; the Coalition papers, finding that mere fury against the war policy of opponents no longer influences opinion, are nevertheless chary in delivering an attack upon the real position of Labor; the independent press contents itself with attacking the Government, and will do nothing, even by criticizing it, to aid the growth of opinion intelligent as to Labor's aims. The solitary daily newspaper that supports Labor lays, on the whole, more emphasis upon industrial than upon political action and deals more with pressing problems of the day, like Russia, than with the creation of a great political organization fully equipped to undertake the tremendous responsibilities of government.

Meanwhile, the Coalition Government declines in power, and Labor is the only rallying point of the malcontents. To try and stop this tendency, Ministers have taken to the platform, but their meetings have been anything but a success. They have been badly attended, they have been seriously interrupted, as in Whitechapel and Aberdeen; some of them, as in Dumfries, have been practically broken up. On the other hand, the Independent Labor party, which continues to be the vital and propagandist nucleus of the Labor party, is carrying on its campaigns with unprecedented vigor and the crowds which are attending break all records. In places like Bradford, where Liberal and Coalition leaders draw hundreds, Independent Labor party speakers draw thousands. With the opening of the year, a joint committee of the Trades Union Congress, the Labor party, and the Coöperators has undertaken a campaign specifically on the question of the nationalization of mines, and the meetings thus far held have been most successful. The effect upon public opinion of Independent Labor party speakers in particular is very great. During the war the opinions and personality of these men have been the subject of the wildest and grossest misrepresentation, and now that times and passions change and people flock in thousands to hear them, their message comes as a revolutionary revelation which plays havoc with old opinions and prejudices. At first, this campaign was severly boycotted by the press, but latterly its success has compelled the newspapers to take some notice of it.

It would be a mistake to imagine that Labor votes are an accurate indication of Labor opinion. They do indicate, however, confidence for the time being in a Labor party. When analyzed they fall into four sections.

First of all, there is the ordinary swing of the pendulum. In this country there is a sound political instinct that governments can be too strong, and that the adequate representation of minorities is one of the conditions of real parliamentary government and of ordered and orderly progress. This is the evolutionary instinct as opposed to the revolutionary, and our present political circumstances range it as an ally of Labor candidates. Much more important in numbers, however, is the second section (to which this first section is akin) composed of those who are discontented with the Government. This covers a wide range of people who have felt the economic pressure of high prices, who harbor the disappointment of unfulfilled peace expectations, who have grievances regarding housing, pensions, and a thousand and one other things. Here is the great bulk of the middle class supporters of Labor candidates. The "respectable" class in this country has always been large. It lived either upon fixed incomes of a moderate amount derived from investments, or upon equally moderate salaries, and most of these remain (though reduced by income tax) at pretty much the same figure nominally as before the war. These people used to be the most immovable opponents of everything known as "Labor." The workman belonged to an inferior order, and they regarded him and all his agitations as their spiritual and economic enemy. Now, the war has crushed them. They see their little luxuries and respectabilities go one after another, and from being securely comfortable they are now struggling to make ends meet on a substantially lower standard of life than they enjoyed six years ago. That is the secret of the Labor polls in places like St. Albans and Bromley.

We must not underestimate the permanent value to refreshed political thinking of this revolutionary readjustment in British social life, but at the moment these sections belong to a different category from the next two. A Labor government in action would put a severe strain upon their support and would test very seriously their new political habits.

The third section has been made really powerful by the recent railway strike. It is the result of a new consciousness of solidarity. The workman is voting as a trade unionist far more than ever he did. He is carrying into his politics his trade union psychology, and in all industrial constituencies this is to be a political factor of the utmost significance. We see its working most clearly in places where there is little complexity of industry, as in mining constituencies. It has to be watched, because it has some dangers which may subvert the whole principle of Parliamentary representation. If, for instance, it is pushed so far that only trade union officials can become candidates for a large number of the best Labor constituencies, it may ruin the Parliamentary Labor party. It has certainly tended to maintain the parliamentary weakness of the party during the past year, because when good vacancies have occurred

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the unions have been blamed for filling them up with their own officials irrespective of the needs of the Parliamentary Labor party. At the present moment we are in the midst of an unfortunate little trouble in the Nelson Division of Lancashire, where there is to be a vacancy. The constituency is cotton and has had a cotton representative. But the Independent Labor party is also strong there, and Mr. Philip Snowden, who has a good grip on the place, was proposed as candidate. The Cotton Operatives' Union would not agree, and officially nominated a rival to whom no exception could be taken except that in Parliamentary matters he could not be spoken of in the same breath as Mr. Snowden. In the end Mr. Snowden withdrew on the ground that he was not being fairly treated, the Cotton Operatives' official candidate and another went to a section conference; the former had more votes than the other, but when, subsequently, the resolution was put that he be the candidate selected, it was defeated, and there is a deadlock.

I relate this incident because students of parliamentary government and representative institutions will see that it involves some questions of the furthest reaching consequences both theoretically and practically. It must not be too readily assumed that the incident indicates an inevitable result of the position taken by the Labor party, for up to now all that has happened is that the unions, having been asked to take a direct interest in politics and nominate candidates, and having responded, cannot understand why, in constituencies where their members predominate, they should not claim the right of nominating one of themselves as Parliamentary candidate.

The fourth group of Labor supporters is that of people who have a definite understanding of political aims and policy, and of that the Independent Labor party remains the centre and its propaganda is the mainstay. As I explained in a previous letter, the war attitude of the Independent Labor party made it for a time something of an ugly duckling inside the more respectable family of the Labor party, but the propagandist zeal of the former, the fact that almost without exception the leading Liberals who have become Labor have preferred to associate themselves with it rather than join the individual membership section of the Labor party, the general change of opinion, and the Spen Valley victory all tend to bring that division to an end. The two greatest surprises of Labor contests—those of Rusholme and of Spen Valley—were contests fought by Independent Labor party nominees with platform support given by the leaders of the Independent Labor party. But that there has hitherto been a disposition on the part of the Labor party to boycott the leaders of the Independent Labor party at some elections cannot be gainsaid, and at one time it threatened to cause serious trouble. A party cannot boycott successfully, however, the men who get the largest meetings and make most effective use of the platform.

In the midst of all this surging of political waters, the position of the Liberal party goes from bad to worse. As a party it has failed to find a distinctive position, and it is a very curious fact that in spite of the undoubted unpopularity of incidents in the labor unrest—like the railwaymen's and the moulders' strikes—the tremors caused by the general industrial outlook, and the doubts raised by some items in the Labor program, like the conscription of wealth, the vote given to Liberal candidates rarely amounts to more than the remnant of the old Liberal party following. Liberalism in Great Britain has lost the confidence and the interest of the man in the street, and it seems to be incapable as yet of redeeming itself. It is mixed up with the failures of the Coalition (which began before the present combination became responsible) and it has discovered no way of hiding its failures. It has no leaders of commanding personality; no men who can conduct a great propaganda. Mr. Asquith's power has always belonged to Parliamentary debate; in the country, he has never been a great figure. He has no magic about him. His lieutenant, Mr. McKenna, has left politics for finance; Mr. Runciman and Mr. Samuel count for nothing. Sir Donald MacLean, the leader of the Free Liberals in Parliament, has a good House of Commons manner, but lacks that distinction and power of personality which rouses curiosity in the country. Sir John Simon has just been defeated. There is nobody else. Lord Morley is in retirement and is silent beyond the walls of his own study; Lord Loreburn is also in retirement, but from his retreat at Deal issues fine manifestos showing the best that was in the Liberalism that fought our old battles for freedom, although all under the watchword "Ichabod"; a small coterie of intellectually distinguished people centring round the weekly journal *Common Sense* strives to keep the memory of Cobden green and is responsible for useful and sound criticisms on finance and the Coalition, but it is as anti-Asquith as it is anti-Lloyd George. Thus Liberalism wanders in the wilderness, without a Moses and even without a compass.

The decaying Coalition struggles, however, to secure itself. I have referred to the campaign of Ministers which up to now has been a lamentable failure. One of the great weaknesses of the Coalition is that it is known to be a temporary combination held together on compromise and brought into existence by conditions that no longer exist. So, within a year of its great triumph, it has come into universal disgrace. Therefore, Lord Birkenhead, with whom the American public is not altogether unfamiliar, has issued, no doubt with the knowledge of Mr. Lloyd George and certainly with the coöperation of Mr. Churchill, his call for the formation of a new Nationalist party. Everyone knows, however, that this is only an attempt to carry on the Coalition under a new name. If the growing power of Labor were really regarded as a menace, a National party might be formed, but a man of a different type from Lord Birkenhead would be required to bring it together. Hitherto the attacks upon Labor by the Coalition—notably Mr. Churchill's from a Sunderland platform and through the columns of a Sunday newspaper—have only helped Labor.

The real weakness of Labor comes from within. Its failure to strengthen its Parliamentary representation at points where it is weak, and the dominance of its best politically active sections tend to split it into factions which, if not prevented, will produce once more the tragic spectacle of Labor enfeebled by its incapacity to hold together and produce the maximum amount of coöperation. On the other hand, the Independent Labor party, after its valiant stand during the war, finds that, at the moment when it is returning to authority, a section has grown up within it which clamors for soviet declarations and the adherence of the party to the Third, in preference to the Second, International. This section has just won a somewhat disquieting victory at a largely attended conference of delegates from the Scottish branches of the party, and the whole question has to come up for decision at the annual conference of the party which is to be held in Glasgow at Easter. The Second

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International has done so little since Berne, largely because it had not the power, but partly because its affairs have been grievously neglected and mishandled, that the opponents of the Third International within the Independent Labor party find themselves in a difficult position. The party will undoubtedly agree to accept the invitation of the German Independent Socialists to attend a conference of the Left to consider the reconstruction of the International; but, in the meantime, peace with Russia would bring into existence a totally new set of problems.

Thus we stand in Great Britain today with a swiftly flowing current of rather indefinite opinion around us—a current, however, which carries the Labor party far towards Parliamentary power.

Robert Lansing, Man and Diplomat

NOW that it is clear that public opinion is overwhelmingly on the side of Robert Lansing in the matter of his enforced resignation from the Cabinet, people are beginning to ask just what Mr. Lansing's contribution has been to the Wilson Administration, what manner of Secretary of State he was, and what history will think of him. There are sharp differences of opinion. I find that most liberals have a poor opinion of Mr. Lansing; they believe that he has been a conventional and imperialistic diplomat and that he has in no wise moved for better relationships between the various nations. They admit that he was opposed to the treaty of peace, as Mr. Bullitt brought out, and that if the negotiations had been left to him we should probably have had a better and more consistent peace. On the other hand, our militarists and imperialists feel that Mr. Lansing has not been strong enough, that he should have pressed for a much more vigorous policy both against Germany and Mexico.

It is not true that Mr. Lansing has been in favor of war with Mexico, if my information is correct. That would have meant a complete reversal of his attitude heretofore. But, aside from this, I know certain things about Robert Lansing's career as Secretary of State which give me a much more favorable opinion than that held by others of *The Nation's* way of thinking. There is no doubt that from outward appearances he has given the impression of being a "rubber stamp" for the President; that, to use the President's words, his mind did "run along with" the President's until a year ago, so completely that the personality of Mr. Lansing did not stand out in the public eye. He has been willing to accept the autocratic leadership of Mr. Wilson even where he differed sharply. It has been his idea that he could best and most patriotically serve his country by subordinating himself completely to the President. With that philosophy many people will not agree. He would unquestionably stand a great deal higher today and would have served his country better had he resigned when the wicked and unworkable Treaty of Versailles first saw the light of day.

But no one can question the sincerity with which Mr. Lansing did his duty as he saw it; nor can anyone believe that there was anything personal or selfish in his holding on as long as he did. He told the absolute truth in his letter to the President, that he would have been happy to have been relieved from office soon after his return from France. He bore unbearable slights in Paris because he wished to have the American delegation preserve an unbroken front.

Of course, Mr. Lansing knew from the day of his appointment that he would be subordinated to Mr. Wilson. It must be remembered that when Mr. Bryan resigned, early in June, 1915, the President was then to all intents and purposes the Secretary of State. He was drafting the several Lusitania notes all by himself upon his little typewriter and consulting with the Cabinet only when he had his notes finished and his decisions taken, and he brooked then as little criticism as he does now. Mr. Lansing was aware of all this when the appointment was offered to him, and must have taken office with his eyes open to the fact that, while he might be entrusted with the more or less routine duties of his office, he would in the all-overshadowing matter of our relationship to the war in Europe be the President's clerk and not even his counsellor. I doubt if any word of complant on this score ever passed his lips, at least until the Paris episode. So vital, so grave and so fateful were the issues which the Government of the United States was confronting from the day that Mr. Lansing took office that he was more than ready to have the President bear the brunt of the task of conducting our foreign relations.

But that I do not mean that he was without clear-cut ideas of his own as to what should be done. If he was an international lawyer much more than a diplomat, and therefore accustomed to presenting one side of a case, he was, after becoming Secretary, determined to have the United States hold the scales evenly between the contending forces abroad. I know whereof I speak, for I was at that time acting as Washington correspondent of the New York *Evening Post*.

Mr. Lansing felt that this country should not only be neutral in thought, as the President had demanded of all Americans, but that it should be just as much in earnest in calling England to account for its violations of international law during the war as in scoring the Germans for their sins. For instance, there was a note prepared before Mr. Bryan resigned, to be sent to Great Britain as soon as the first Lusitania note had gone to Germany, taking issue with England for various infractions of the laws of war, particularly as they affected neutrals. Mr. Cone Johnson, then solicitor of the State Department, was responsible for the statement in the corridor of the State Department to a delegation of business men from New York that there was not a single canon of international law that England had not violated up to that hour; and it was beyond doubt true that England at that time had not only thrown all possible difficulties in the way of our dealing with Germany but was holding up our ships destined for neutral ports. For instance, on May 20, 1915, there were twenty-four cotton ships, all bound for Scandinavian or Dutch ports, held up in England in deliberate violation of British pledges that all cotton for which contracts of sale or freight engagements had been made before March 2, 1915, would be allowed free transit provided the ships sailed not later than March 31. Mr. Lansing was one of those who thought that just as stiff a note should be sent to England about these matters as had been sent to Germany about the Lusitania, and when the President reached New York on May 18, 1915, on the Mayflower, to review the fleet, such a note was

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placed in his hands by a special messenger from the State Department. With the drafting of that note Robert Lansing had a good deal to do.

Unfortunately for the country, that note was not sent to England until nearly five months later, during which time its effect was weakened for several reasons. In the first place, it came too late to have that effect upon Germany which it was hoped it would have—namely, of relieving the German suspicion that America was playing the Allies' game. In the second place, it was very much toned down in its language and was not nearly so sharp an indictment of Great Britain as its projectors had intended. In the third place, much water had flown under the bridge in the interim. But at least here is the fact that at that time Mr. Lansing was for dealing out an even-handed justice, was for vigorously upholding the rights of the American flag upon the high seas in accordance with American traditions, and was determined to stand by the tenets of international law which had been so hardly won by decades and centuries of slow juristic development.

It was a quiet-faced, self-controlled, and dignified man, immaculately clad in the cutaway of statesmanship, who met the correspondents in the office of the Secretary of State during that trying summer of 1915. It was the same grave, dignified presence, distinctly grayer and more worn, who received the correspondents in the Hotel Crillon last winter; but whereas he answered the correspondents' questions readily and frankly in Washington, in Paris he had to fence, to hesitate, and to palaver on occasions in order to conceal how sublimely ignorant he was of what was going on in the Peace Conference—ignorant because in one period of four weeks he saw Mr. Wilson only at its beginning and at its end. The President was already punishing him because their minds did not then run along together. Yet here again there is reason to believe that Robert Lansing stood for justice, even for the enemy; that he had the wisdom to appreciate, as did Herbert Hoover, Henry White, and General Bliss, that if the Central Powers were crushed or made the victims of Bolshevism by the severity of the peace terms, their collapse would inevitably insure the collapse of the rest of Europe. To an observer of what was going on, Mr. Lansing at that time confessed his inability to get up any great enthusiasm for the League of Nations. He was content to leave that to Colonel House and the President as their particular field of interest. What concerned him was whether civilization would survive in Europe or not. He has never denied Mr. Bullitt's account of his conversations with him in Paris, because he could not. Nor has he ever rebuked Mr. Bullitt for blurting out the truth. He could not very well deny it if he had wished to; there were too many others to whom he had talked in similar vein, and he must have known, moreover, that men in even higher places than Mr. Bullitt had agreed that if they were summoned to testify before the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Senate they would tell the whole truth and reserve nothing, and would feel as free as Mr. Bullitt to reveal the facts and conversations and opinions which the American people ought to know. It remains as true today as when Mr. Lansing made the remark to Mr. Bullitt that if the American people really understood the Treaty of Versailles they would not for a moment tolerate it. Yet he felt it his duty to urge its acceptance—when it was an accomplished fact.

Prophesying is a dangerous thing, but I am bold enough to hazard the suggestion that when the private diaries of Robert Lansing are published, a decade or so hence, Mr. Lansing will stand a great deal higher in the estimation of the historian than most people now believe possible. I am of the opinion that it will be found that throughout that disastrous winter in Paris he stood for a humane and wise policy toward Russia and a wise and sensible and Christian attitude toward the Central Powers. I believe that it will appear that Mr. Lansing looked very far ahead, even before peace arrived, and that he then outlined a program for the United States to follow which, had it been pursued, would have delighted liberals the world over, and would have spared us the disgrace of having participated in the starving to death of hundreds of thousands of German, Austrian, Hungarian, and Russian women and children. Mr. Lansing sincerely desired a better world as a result of the war, and fought hard for it, despite the fact that he was hampered by the conventionalities of diplomacy, by the natural conservatism of the lawyer, and by the hide-bound loyalty of the place holder. I know for one thing that he has stood for a broad, liberal, generous, and forgiving policy toward political offenders in this country.

On the whole the most serious exception to be taken to the administration of the Department of State by Mr. Lansing was the policy toward Russia. Of course it may be assumed that in this, as in other matters, the Secretary subordinated his own opinions to those of Mr. Wilson, but if Mr. Lansing was in agreement with the President, then he must suffer in the estimation of liberals in consequence. If, on the other hand, he differed with Mr. Wilson, it is again hard to accept the philosophy which would permit him to take part in such a crime against democracy and fair-play.

Mr. Lansing will by no means be wholly at a loss now that he has retired from office, for he knows how to play. He is an ardent fisherman and golfer. He sketches and paints, has a well-rounded interest in books, and he is also a frequent writer of verse. Best of all, he takes with him into retirement the consciousness of having given the very best that was in him to the President who appointed him and to the country he has been so happy to serve.

O. G. V.

Contributors to this Issue

J. Ramsay Macdonald, a leader of the Independent Labor party of Great Britain, is a frequent contributor to *The Nation*.

Carl Becker, professor of European history at Cornell University, has written often for our columns.

James Rorty, who was with the A. E. F. in France, has written several sketches for *The Nation*.

Robert Morss Lovett, formerly editor of *The Dial*, is professor of English at the University of Chicago.

Richard Roberts, a frequent contributor to *The Nation*, is pastor of the Church of the Pilgrims, Brooklyn.

Glen Mullin is an artist and art critic who has given much time to the study of illustration and caricature.

Frank A. Vanderlip, formerly president of the National City Bank, is the author of "What Happened to Europe."

Mark O. Prentiss is vice-president of the National Surety Company and chairman of the United States Clearing House of Foreign Credits.

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"A Little More Grape, Captain Bragg"

By CARL BECKER

MOST people I have talked with think that the exclusion of Mr. Berger from Congress is justified, but that the exclusion of the Socialists from the New York Assembly is not. Mr. Berger, they say, is a criminal, whereas the men now being tried at Albany are only Socialists. But the other day I heard of a man who argued differently. The exclusion of the deputies at Albany he thought no great matter, because they represented a negligible number of people on the East Side—mostly foreigners; the exclusion of Victor Berger, he thought, on the contrary, quite intolerable, because it amounted to disfranchising an entire Congressional district. I can't speak for the facts in the case (nor is it necessary, since facts, like francs, are now at a discount); but the point of the argument was that to disfranchise a few was more justifiable than to disfranchise many.

This idea reminded me of statements one often comes across in accounts of the various "terrors" and "massacres" which are celebrated in history. In these accounts moral culpability is often made to turn on the greater or less number of victims. A recent writer, for example, speaking of the French Reign of Terror, says that "twenty thousand executions constitute a very small proportion of a population of 25,000,000—less than one in every 1,000." The implication is that it would be more difficult to justify the Committee of Public Safety if the executions had run to, let us say, 200,000.

I cannot see the force of this kind of reasoning. It amounts to saying that it is right to kill a few people when there is little need for doing so, but wrong to kill a great many when the need is imperative. Every one agrees that the State is absolute, that it must defend itself at all hazards, and that it has therefore a right, a duty even, to kill those who seek to destroy it. The justification in all such cases is referred to the necessity of preserving the State.

Must not the justification be strong, then, in proportion as the danger is great? If there were 20,000 Royalists seeking to overthrow the Revolutionary Government in France, the danger was no doubt considerable, but not nearly so pressing as it would have been if there had been 200,000; and as there is only one infallible authority for deciding what persons and what conduct constitute a menace to the Revolutionary Government, namely, the Revolutionary Government itself, it would be right (that is, it would be historically correct), if the Revolutionary Government had in fact guillotined 200,000 people, to assume that there were 200,000 Royalists in France bent upon overturning the Revolutionary Government. Evidently, in that case, the danger to the State would have been much greater than it now appears to have been, and consequently the historian should find it so much the easier to justify the acts of the Committee of Public Safety. If the number of executions had run into the millions, say from eight to ten, the moral character of the Terror would be nearly if not quite irreproachable.

Unfortunately, governments have generally, in times of crisis, failed to grasp this simple truth; the consequence of which is that, by exhibiting a deplorable timidity in proportion to the need of vigorous action, they have often uselessly endangered their own existence and incurred, very justly, the censure of mankind. A notable case is that of Charles IX and the St. Bartholomew massacres. The feebleness of this prince is celebrated; but historians have commonly overlooked the fact that his failure was due to a feebleness in the execution rather than to any misunderstanding of the proper remedy. "If you must kill them," the king is reported to have said, "kill them all, that no one may be left to reproach me." Unfortunately, the king's command was not fully obeyed; and killing only a few thousands proved one of those fatal half measures to which governments are prone. Most of the Huguenots remained, a greater danger than before; whereas posterity, bound on account of the mildness of the measures to think that the danger could not have been very great after all, easily concluded that the massacre was inspired by no higher motive than religious bigotry, and so the morality of the proceeding has remained questionable to this day.

It is a melancholy fact (which the recent war only confirms) that although men study history diligently, they commonly refuse to learn anything from it. Lenin is doubtless familiar with the St. Bartholomew affair; but the chances are that Lenin has exhibited the same weakness that characterized the Government of France. The chances are that he has not killed many people—probably considerably "less than one in every 1,000." If this should prove to be the case, sentimentalists may rejoice; but the true realist will draw from it the conclusion that if less than one person in a thousand was a menace to the Bolshevik Government the morality of the executions can scarcely have been above reproach.

Whatever Lenin may do, let us in America not ignore the lessons of the past in dealing with Mr. Berger and the Socialist menace. I assume, of course, that the Socialists are a menace, that they are bent upon overturning the Government by force; for it is admitted on all hands that if this is not so there is no case for repressive measures. Assuming, therefore, that the Socialists are bent on overturning the Government by force, my point is that the measures so far taken in defense of the Government are altogether inadequate.

Let us suppose, for sake of argument, that there are in the United States only two persons who wish to overthrow the Government by force, and let us assume that these two are Mr. Berger and Mr. Debs. We have, then, two persons seeking to overthrow the Government by force, against 100,000,000 seeking to maintain it by force. The chances of their being able to wreck society are slight. Since the danger to the State is slight, it seems, therefore, that there is slight justification for killing Mr. Berger and Mr. Debs, or even for putting them in prison. For a hundred million men to kill two men, and then enter a plea of self-defense, seems even a little incongruous—like bringing a steam pile driver into the nursery in order to crush a soap bubble.

If all the Socialists are planning the overthrow of the Government, killing Mr. Berger and Mr. Debs is not enough. A little killing is a dangerous thing. If the Government is safeguarded a little by killing Mr. Berger and Mr. Debs,

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it should be safeguarded a great deal by killing all the Socialists. How futile, then, to waste precious time trying the Socialist members at Albany, only to be content in the end with excluding them from the Assembly! Such measures will have no other effect than to make the Socialists more than ever determined to overthrow the Government. If Socialists wish to overthrow the Government by force, and if it is the duty of the Government to kill those who seek to overthrow it by force, why, then there is but one conclusion: the only good Socialist is a dead Socialist. In that case, what we should do is to arrest all the Socialists and shoot them dead. That would settle the menace on the one side and the duty on the other.

On second thought, I am not sure that killing all the Socialists would prove to be a protective measure of complete efficacy. It would at least do no harm to include all others, not themselves Socialists, who voted for Socialist representatives, who read Socialist papers, or listened to Socialist arguments. The arguments were perhaps convincing; and so we are confronted with the danger that in a short time a new group of Socialists might appear even if all the old ones were killed off. The work ought to be thoroughly done, lest we have to do it over again. To make perfectly sure, those who show any sympathy with the Socialists might as well be included. Evidently the district which elected Mr. Berger (and a second time!) is tainted with sympathy with Socialism. I therefore make the suggestion (to be withdrawn if the Government disapproves of it) that a sanitary cordon of the American Legion be drawn around Mr. Berger's district, and that all the people therein be then slowly but surely driven into Lake Michigan. The conclusion of the whole matter is very simple: if the Socialists be not exterminated, it is possible, likely indeed, that in the course of time a majority of the American people may become Socialists. Then it will be too late. All will then be over. To all good Americans I therefore put this elemental question: if Socialism cannot be destroyed now, when it is weak, what hope is there of destroying it later when it becomes strong?

These conclusions seem to me irresistible. But the other day, when I put the whole case to a friend in whose judgment I have confidence, he said: "I think you have missed the main point. Our Government rests upon the will of the people. As long as a hundred million are in favor of the form we have, there is no question as to its legitimacy, and hence no question as to its right to suppress the two who wish to overthrow it. But in proportion as the number who wish to overthrow it increases, it becomes increasingly uncertain whether it is the form which the people want. If half the people became Socialists bent on overthrowing the Government, there would be as much reason for saying the people did not want the present form of government as for saying that they did; and in that case the Socialists would have as much right to destroy the others as the others would have to destroy the Socialists."

"I have not overlooked this point," I said. "But you have introduced an assumption foreign to the whole argument. That assumption is that the legitimacy of our Government rests upon the consent of the governed; and from this assumption the fatal conclusion follows that the only way a Government can maintain itself in the long run is by winning and keeping the assent of the great majority. If you think this is a new idea, you are mistaken. It is, in fact, an old theory, formulated as long ago as 1776, in the Declaration of Independence which the Continental Congress proclaimed on July 4 in justification of the rebellion of the colonies against the legitimate Government of Great Britain. But it is a well-tested maxim of political science that the winning of liberty is one thing, the maintenance of government quite another; and in fact, since the adoption of the present constitution in 1789, the Declaration of Independence has been chiefly serviceable as a convenient and inspiring document to read on the Fourth of July. It has been generally recognized that to attempt to apply its principles in practice would involve changes amounting to the overthrow of the present system. Your harking back to this old theory indicates to my mind that you are yourself not far removed from a measure of sympathy with Socialist doctrines. As a loyal citizen I am not certain that I ought not to denounce you to the Lusk Committee."

My good friend saw the force of this argument, and had nothing further to say. And, indeed, what more was there to be said?

Priests and Priests

By JAMES RORTY

"WE'RE taking a chance," said the chaplain. "We may both be killed." "For Christ's sake shut up," replied the driver.

As the ambulance rounded the curve of the hill, a shell landed perhaps fifty feet in front, at the side of the road. The driver and the chaplain both ducked, receiving a shower of dirt and pebbles on their helmets. As the chaplain straightened, one saw that his nose, which was long and ordinarily red at the end, was now blue. "We're taking a chance," repeated the chaplain. "We may both be killed." "For Christ's sake shut up," urged the driver. "Damn those engineers—why don't they fix this road? Christ! I hope that front spring doesn't break."

I had seen the Y. M. C. A. car come into town twelve hours before, when the bombardment was at its height. Therefore, when, late that night, I discovered the Y. M. C. A. secretary on the other end of the stretcher I was carrying, I was not surprised. Have you ever remembered the Sunday School superintendent who directed your youth in the paths of rectitude? Have you, perhaps, wondered how he would act if he should get into a war? I had such a memory. It was of a soft-eyed, deaconish sort of person, who walked like an undertaker but was really much heartier. He consistently turned the other cheek to my youthful irreverence, concealing his feelings with the hollow laughter which bespeaks a troubled heart. At prayer meetings he was usually called upon for an original prayer and would gallantly respond. But it was always too much for him. Literally, words failed him. One saw him afloat on the sea of composition, alone with his God, splashing wildly and uttering hoarse cries—until invariably he had to give it up. There came a pause, in which his closed eyelids trembled and his lips moved noiselessly. And then, suddenly, one felt his feet touch ground. The struggle went out of his face; the quavering voice became almost orotund. Firmly he spoke the words of a single tried and trusted formula,

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borrowed years before from an itinerant evangelist, and used ever since without change: "Let us do with our might what our hands *finds* to do; so that each day we may pitch our moving tents a day's march nearer the eternal throne." He sat, and in the hush that followed, one heard the pianist flutter the leaves of the hymn book. In Mr. Perkins's face one saw Christian meekness mingled with justifiable pride in a worthy oblation duly rendered.

My memory had to traverse a long stretch of years to recall that picture. Meanwhile the moving caravan of events had pitched its tents in France; the eternal throne was beaten about with lightnings and thunders, and the name of the Deity was spoken not in humility, but in terror and in hatred. Where was Mr. Perkins in all this? I had thought of him, as one thinks of all sorts of things in war, and had wondered—and behold, here was the answer to my speculations on the other end of that stretcher. Not Mr. Perkins, of course, but remarkably like him. There he was, with all his parochialism intact; the war had scarcely thrown him out of his stride at all. Yet he had changed. No longer was he inarticulate, fearful. It seemed as if the mysteries had opened to him and he had found a new worship, the technique of which was easier and more to his mind. He was brisk, chatty, and apparently not in the least afraid, although for twelve hours at least he had been in a heavily shelled village insufficiently provided with dugouts; even now occasional shells were falling in our vicinity. After we had finished loading the ambulance it occurred to me to give him a large carton of cigarettes which the Red Cross representative at Apremont had entrusted to me for delivery to one of the chaplains of our division. Would he relieve me of this commission? Certainly. His heart was full of the work his hands had found to do. He knew Chaplain X very well—a fine fellow. And wouldn't I accept for myself this package of German cigarettes—he had dug up a German officers' cache. I would, but I was in a hurry. Whang! A shell came in about fifty yards the other side of the dressing station, and, zing! A piece of spent shrapnel fell at our feet. "Are you ready?" I called to the driver. "I'll tell the world I'm ready," replied the driver, enthusiastically. As our Ford scuttled around the corner and fled out of the village, I felt aggrieved, as if the war had robbed me of one of my favorite *bêtes noires*. It is hard when a man can no longer be supercilious even about the Mr. Perkinses.

After one of the frequent small attacks which spoiled what otherwise would have been a "good" sector, a company of doughboys were coming out of the lines. At the Y. M. C. A. hut, located in a small village about three kilometres back, the Secretary had prepared to do the honors. He was helped by a "Y" girl, who, having succeeded in arriving fairly close to the front, was extracting what seemed to some of us a rather excessive amount of pleasure from the experience. She was not a magazine cover type. Rather did her merit seem to lie in her hypothetical qualities of mind and heart. The doughboys lined up as usual. Miss Tilley stood modestly in the background while the Secretary played upon them the full glory of the famous Asphyxiating Smile which falls so relentlessly upon the just and the unjust, and against which neither gas mask nor any other thing gives any protection. To the left of him on the counter was Cigarette; to the right was Chewing Gum, a package of which he fingered suggestively as he spoke. "All those who love Miss Tilley," said the Secretary, "raise their hands."

Secretary birds, one used to call them. I suspect that the woodland glades and bosky dells of our country are full of them, especially in the smaller parishes of New England and the Middle West. And this one, which I saw with my own eyes, is probably still alive.

Everyone said that the post at Commandery was the best of the lot. I discovered why when I was sent there one very pleasant morning in May. A row of dugouts built into the lee side of the hill along the road—that was the post, which was occupied by a section of French *brancardiers*, most of whom were priests. The slope of the hill was such that we were protected from everything except high-angle artillery fire—and the sector was pretty quiet anyhow. I sat in the ambulance and was warmed by the sun and looked out over the green valley and hoped that nothing would happen. One was aware of the war, of course, but vaguely, and as if at a distance. The thought was obtruded every now and then by the staccato remarks of the seventy-five planted in the woods a quarter of a mile away. But it seemed as if this particular seventy-five were speaking today merely as a matter of good military form—the small talk of Mars, uttered to while away the boredom of a banquet which had lasted too long. Boredom was the word. The French troops who were occupying the sector had become bored with the war long ago and had turned to market gardening. The side of the hill was so thickly sown with shacks and dugouts that it looked for all the world like a middle-class summer colony in the States. In front of each dugout was a neatly kept garden planted with lettuce, radishes, and carrots, all cultivated with extraordinary interest and devotion by the *poilus* of successive French divisions, which, after experiencing much misery in active sectors, had been sent here to rest and recuperate.

At the edge of the road was a pump which overflowed into a basin of clear white sand. There the French cooks and K. P.'s came to wash the carrots that were to go into the stew. As I watched, I heard a chorus of laughter and saw the men drop their work and turn their gaze down the road toward the dugout occupied by the priests. "They're at it again," I said to myself, and got down out of the Ford so that I might watch. Sure enough, there was the *médecin-chef*, who had grasped the front legs of Ki-Ki, the pet terrier, and Father Y, who had the hind legs of the dog, and together, with Ki-Ki between them, they were solemnly waltzing up and down the road singing "La Madelon." I had been told that the *médecin-chef* was of aristocratic birth and that he ranked high as a physician. As for the priest, perhaps one would not have guessed, considering his *poilu* uniform (he was a corporal), that before the war he had been professor of Latin and Greek at a famous French university, although his distinction was evident enough; he had the finely sculptured features and luminous complexion of a certain wholly admirable French type. But what an undignified performance—the doctor and the priest—clowning it for the amusement of a circle of guffawing *poilus!* Unless—laughter is purgative, one hears. Perhaps that daily absurdity, unctuously enacted before those war-weary men, was not without point. Courage is a gay thing. And in that little drama I seemed to see a sort of defiant assertion of human dignity, flung in the face of that vast conspiracy of hostile circumstance which is war.

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Correspondence

A Captious Caption

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your fun with the headline writers of the *New York Times* is delicious. Noting with some frequency the flat contradiction between article and headline in this newspaper, I had come to regard the matter as evidence of dishonesty; but you are undoubtedly right in viewing it as merry jesting. What with prohibition come, woman suffrage coming, and the Russian blockade lifted, the editors of the *Times* need to "jolly" themselves if not their readers.

But I am writing to give you another specimen of the gentle art of deception by headlines. Some weeks ago Mr. Delos F. Wilcox and a committee of citizens issued a pamphlet advocating public ownership of street and subway lines in New York city. "We propose," were the words of the pamphlet, "the formulation and persistent advocacy of a transit program, having for its end the complete municipalization of all rapid transit street and bus lines in New York." At the same time, in a spirit of candor, this pamphlet pointed out the obstacles in the way of this policy, and the evils which might accompany it; and followed this with a discussion of how these obstacles might be overcome and the evils avoided. The *Times* placed over its story of this pamphlet, these headlines: "See Many Dangers in City Ownership—Wilcox Committee Cites Politics and Inefficiency as Likely to Grow Up—Debt Limit an Obstacle—Admits Hardship of Traction Lines with Inelastic Fares and Mounting Costs."

New York, January 26 VERITAS

Discouraging Labor Agitation

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Opponents of labor have been trying to confuse trade-union efforts to improve working conditions with revolution. They have succeeded—in the Philadelphia press.

Workers in Kirschbaum's, one of the largest men's clothing shops in the city, have been on strike since December first. The issue is the most rudimentary question of wages and collective bargaining. In November, when the union shops won a five-dollar increase without a strike, these poorly paid unorganized workers appointed a committee to represent them and asked for the same advance. The firm refused to meet this committee and ignored the demand. As discontent rose under this treatment, the workers, mostly Italians, turned for help to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. For two weeks the union held back the thoroughly aroused men and women, while it tried further negotiations with the firm. Finally the workers struck. Within a week the firm announced a three-dollar increase and restated its intention never to permit its workers to organize. Eighty per cent of the workers are still out after seven weeks.

Sixty-one workers have been arrested since December 1, most of them on the uncertain charge of "threats." None have been tried, although some of them have been given to understand that the cases against them will be dropped if they go back to work. Girls, fourteen and fifteen years old, who were earning $8 a week, have been set upon by mounted police; all picketing has been forcibly prevented. Policemen have even refused the workers entry to their own hall when, at 6:30 in the morning, they began to assemble there preliminary to picketing.

This is usual enough. But the peculiarities of the Kirschbaum case are two. First, Mr. Kirschbaum has been loud in preaching what he calls "industrial democracy." He established a "Senate" among his workers, a coöperative shop, a cut-price restaurant. But he did not pay his workers well, and he would not let them organize as they wished.

Second, although the Philadelphia papers have all carried display advertisements calling for workers at Kirschbaum's, representing the conditions of work there as ideal, but not mentioning the strike, every paper in the city has refused a paid advertisement setting forth "What Kirschbaum's Employees Want." This advertisement mentioned the success of union shops in other cities and remarked mildly that "Mr. Kirschbaum's employees . . . are asking for an increase in wages in order to meet the high cost of living and the right to maintain an organization of their own choosing. The workers are not satisfied with an organization framed for them." A contract was signed at $1,500 to run this advertisement in three leading papers; the day before it was to appear the union was notified that the contract was cancelled.

Newspaper men in Philadelphia frankly admit that the deliberate policy of their papers is to close their columns to even conservative union news, in the belief that they thus discourage strikes. No labor news is printed at all. Clearly this is a dangerous policy. So far the result of this policy of "discouraging labor agitation," as they call it, has been, not to discourage these workers, new as they are to organization and just beginning to reach out toward the simplest economic thoughts, but to develop an utter cynicism toward the press and the other influences which they find against them.

Philadelphia, January 22 PAULINE CLARKE

Red-Handed

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In *The Nation* of January 10 you say, speaking of Germany, that "there are also appearing healthy signs of an awakened conscience and a readiness to cry *mea culpa* where the facts are undeniable."

Is not this like Leon Carrillo's immortal Italo-American version of George and the cherry-tree? "'Giorgio,' call-a da fada, 'I look outa da wind' an' I seen you cut down dat tree.' 'Well, fada, if you seen me do it, I can't tell no lie.'"

New York, January 19 ALEXANDER B. SIEGEL

A Coöperative "National News"

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: May I offer an amendment to Upton Sinclair's plan for building an honest paper: the entire plant for printing and publishing the *National News* should be coöperatively owned and carried on. Coöperation is the logical business basis for winning the financial support of many thousands of persons who would welcome such a journal as Mr. Sinclair describes in *The Nation*, February 7.

And with coöperation in view—as well as for other fundamental reasons—the names of James P. Warbasse and Frederic C. Howe should be added to the list of twenty-three suggested for an executive board.

Wellesley, Massachusetts, February 13 ELLEN HAYES

Violence to End Violence?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Speaking of second-class mailing privileges, is a newspaper printing the following a newspaper "within the meaning of the law" as interpreted by Mr. Burleson?

"Dr. Mayo 'sees science extending American life limit.' What we want is patriotism reducing Bolshevik life limit. *The necessary instruments may be obtained at your hardware store.*" (*Uncle Sam*, formerly *Treat 'em Rough;* January, 1920.) The italics are mine.

New York, January 19 WILLIAM MORRIS

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Masks

By HAZEL HALL

YOU wear your mask,
And I wear mine;
And we are happy—
For we are fine.

And we are fearless,
For what we wear
Gives us valor,
Making us fair.

And giving us splendor,
Makes us be
Quick with our hands
In charity.

Yet are you ever
Drenched with a doubt
That a starrier eye
May find you out?

Or struck with quick fear—
Keen as a cry—
Lest the only deluded
Are you and I?

Literature

Butler at Length

Samuel Butler. A Memoir. By Henry Festing Jones. London: Macmillan & Co. 2 Vols.

SAMUEL BUTLER'S temple of fame is crowned at last by this monumental biography, two volumes, nine hundred seventy-nine pages, perfectly indexed, and, it is to be hoped, issued at the publishers' risk. This was always a cardinal point on Butler's part, not because he could not afford, at least in later life, to publish at his own expense, but because he wanted to be treated as a professional man of letters, not an amateur. It was a distinction which he achieved during his life only in connection with "Erewhon Revisited" and the reprinting of "Erewhon," and then by the kindly intervention of Bernard Shaw. The posthumous publication of "The Way of All Flesh," however, gave Butler what he so ardently coveted, a literary reputation, and it may be hoped that his biography, in all its magnificent bulk, travels under its own steam.

The theme of "The Way of All Flesh" is Ernest Pontifex's attainment of the qualities necessary to his survival. He was by no means among the fittest, and his education made him the victim of a hideously false view of the world. That the story of his blunderings in life was founded in autobiography no one has ever doubted, but the present volumes show not only that Butler himself lived the same theme, but that he lived it at a higher level and to larger issues. His aim was not merely survival, but success in life, and his biography is a record of false starts and new beginnings, of breaks and failures and discouragements relieved by a dogged and indomitable persistence.

First of all Butler had the economic question to solve. His early venture in sheep raising in New Zealand, at his father's expense, provided him with capital on which to base his existence, but in his inexperience both of business and life he was the victim of speculation and of a perfectly fantastic obligation to a friend whom he had brought back with him from New Zealand. In his later administration of the property which came to him on the death of his father, he showed that he had learned to keep clear of the crime of poverty.

Butler in search of his fame showed the same qualities as in his pursuit of a competency. He measured success by realistic standards, sales, reputation, social prestige, but he showed little aptitude for achieving it. His first venture was painting. He arrived so far as to exhibit at the Royal Academy, and even to sell a few canvases. Of one, Don Quixote, when he sold it for fifteen guineas, he wrote, "I never liked the picture till now, but now I like it very much." He struggled with musical composition, and produced in collaboration two oratorios. His visits to the Southern Alps interested him in the shrines, adorned by forgotten Italian artists, which he commemorated in "Alps and Sanctuaries." "The Origin of Species" had been published while Butler was in New Zealand, and he returned to find English thought effervescing with a new conception of life and society. The series of modern Utopias was beginning with Bulwer's "Coming Race," to which Butler contributed "Erewhon" in 1872. This piece of social criticism, full of brilliant paradox, had a momentary success and gave Butler a glimpse of the distinction which he craved and which he never in his lifetime attained again. He shocked the religious orthodoxy of his time by an examination of the evidence for Christian miracles; he outraged the scientific orthodoxy by attacking Darwin's attribution of the origin of species to the mechanical operation of natural selection; and, bitter at the contemptuous indifference in which his views were smothered, he accused the high priest of science of personal unfairness in the controversy. He affronted classical scholarship by the theory that the Odyssey was written by a woman, and that woman Nausicaä; and just before his death he interfered with the vested interests ranged under Shakespeare's name.

In all this he showed a certain ineptitude in his relations with people, which reminds one of Ernest Pontifex—a lack of *savoir faire* to carry off his heresies. Above all, Butler lacked training. Even when he was right in his forays he lacked technical knowledge to hold the ground he won. His position had at best only the authority of a happy guess. He had come indeed to mistrust training. He reflected somewhat bitterly on his career as painter: "If I had gone on doing things out of my own head instead of making studies, I should have been all right." He declined to repeat the mistake. He got up the background of his subject while he worked out his theory, with what deflection of evidence can be imagined. For one thing, however, his experience perfectly prepared him—the record of it in the form of fiction. Here again he was held back by his lack of knowledge of the technique of novel writing, which forced him to constant rehandling of his material. Had Butler learned how to write a novel, he might have finished "The Way of All Flesh" in a year or two, and enjoyed the fame which came too late.

Butler was doubtless well advised to make his early experience in emerging from the evangelical romanticism of his father's house into the realistic morality of life the basis of his novel. It was his best material, and he knew it. His biography reveals another story in his life which might have made a second novel. Among his fellow pupils at Heatherley's painting academy was a Miss Eliza Savage. Butler showed her his manuscript of "Erewhon," to which her response was: "I can't help thinking how stupid I have been to have known you all these years and never to have found you out." She read all Butler's manuscripts from that time forth, and she entered into all his literary plans with a zest and intelligence that must have been an inexpressible stimulus and compensation to him in these years of apparently fruitless effort. She was a realist and a wit, and many passages in her letters Butler marked with his economical "I must try and get it in somewhere."

Butler thought she wanted to marry him; Mr. Jones thinks not, but perhaps Butler was the better judge. One of Butler's handicaps in life was a conscience morbidly sensitive to human

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obligations. "I do not suppose a day ever passes but it comes up to me with a stab that these people were kinder and better friends to me than I to them"—and one of these people was Miss Savage. Her memory led him to explore the mystery of the affections, and long after her death, when he was working at Shakespeare's sonnets, he wrote two in which the theme suggested by Miss Savage's kindness and his own unresponsiveness is treated with an odd mixture of Elizabethan conceit and modern frankness:

> Hard tho' I tried to love, I tried in vain.
> For she was plain and lame and fat and short,
> Forty and over-kind. Hence it befell
> That though I loved her in a certain sort,
> Yet did I love too wisely, but not well.
> Ah! had she been more beauteous or less kind
> She might have found me of another mind.

The execution of this biographical monument to a man who had no public life, whose contacts with his contemporaries were few and broken, whose letters were not numerous, demanded a Boswell, and for this rôle Mr. Jones's long and intimate association with Butler perfectly fitted him. Indeed, one suspects that Butler planted the seeds of his own biography with the same conscious care which he showed in bringing to harvest that of his grandfather—one of the works the cost of which he resented. At all events, Mr. Jones was fertile soil. He has preserved everything, even to the kettle-holder which formed a subject of badinage between Butler and his friend, Miss Savage. "This kettle-holder," Mr. Jones faithfully tells us, "is shown in the illustration which faces chapter XXXIX. It is now in my possession." With such zeal the Life of Samuel Butler grew to its magnificent proportions. "It is long," Mr. Jones confesses, "but it could not be otherwise. Butler would have been displeased with me if I had given him fewer words than he gave his grandfather."

ROBERT MORSS LOVETT

Doctors of the Church

The Church We Forget. By P. W. Wilson. Fleming H. Revell Company.

A Community Church. By Henry E. Jackson. Houghton Mifflin Company.

The Church and Socialism. By John A. Ryan. Washington: The University Press.

EVERYBODY seems to be agreed that the Church is in a very bad way, and the physicians that offer to heal it are legion and belong to every sort of school. There is your Evangelical, for instance, who sees no hope for the patient except in a penitent return to the traditions of the elders (though you must not go too far back or you may land in the Sermon on the Mount, which might be awkward). Then you have the iconoclast, the religious Bolshevist, so to speak, who cries aloud for a clear and thoroughgoing break with the outworn shibboleths of a day that is dead. Your Catholic also is on the spot with the old panacea—*nulla salus extra ecclesiam.* And all the doctors agree that there is nothing ahead but destruction if you do not go their special way. But this chorus of medicine-men is no new thing in the world. There is an apostolical succession of ecclesiastical critics no less than of hierarchs, and continuity of criticism as well as continuity of apologetic. The most flagrantly modernist criticism is apt to be true to the traditional type; and perhaps the Church would have done well if it had long ago instituted an order of devil's advocates as a regular part of its machinery. But it did not do so; and the divine mission of the critic is discharged today in a sort of internecine criticism among the various sects. Yet the Church somehow manages to survive, in spite of its enemies and in spite of its friends.

Between Mr. Wilson and Mr. Jackson a great gulf is fixed. Mr. Wilson turns his face back longingly to the Primitive Church, while Mr. Jackson sets his steadfastly toward a brand-new kind of Church. The criticism of the Church has always moved between these two poles. This is due to nothing in the nature of the Church which it does not share with other human institutions, but to that kink in human nature which, being dissatisfied with the present, sends some of us back to the past and "the good old times" and drives others of us to look for a "good time coming" in the future. Mr. Wilson goes one way, Mr. Jackson takes the other road. The truth is along neither of these roads, but along a not yet discovered *via tertia* which will one of these days emerge from the ferment of discussion and inquiry—that is, if the doctors do not all get incurably stuck on their own pet prescriptions.

A good preacher was lost when Mr. Philip Wilson became a journalist. But it would be an exaggeration to say that a prophet was lost. Mr. Wilson's pulpit gifts would be those of the deft and acceptible homilist; he would be great at edification. "The Church We Forget" is really nothing but a very competent "pulpit commentary" on the Acts of the Apostles; and those who turn to it expecting to find a clear picture of the Apostolic Church in the light of modern Biblical scholarship will find nothing of the sort. It is indeed amazing that Mr. Wilson, who has spent his life in an atmosphere of busy intellectual activity, should show so few signs of modernity. That is indeed the defect of the book. It is idle to go on assuming that nothing very material has happened in Biblical scholarship during the last half century, or that a devotional exposition of the traditional text of Acts will meet the religious need of the present moment. Of its kind, the book is able; and of this kind of book, it has the unusual distinction of being fresh and original. Still it belongs to the class of religious utterance which (we are informed) is designated by English university undergraduates as "pi jaw."

But Mr. Jackson would be all the better for a touch of Mr. Wilson. The Community Church idea is the most valuable and fruitful suggestion which has yet emerged out of the discussion of religious reconstruction; and it has quite incalculable possibilities. Mr. Jackson's discussion of it is vitiated by the fact that the historic Christian tradition plays but an infinitesimal part in it, and you cannot write off history in that summary way. The Community Church cannot afford to ignore the "apostolical succession," not, of course, of clerics, but of saints; and it is as sure as anything can well be that unless the Community Church makes detailed and painstaking study of ecclesiastical history and orders its life not merely on the basis of the democratic dogma, but in accordance with the rich and varied experience of the religious institutions of the past, it is inviting failure and miscarriage. There is such a thing as being too modernist; and that is the danger which besets Mr. Jackson. But the more serious criticism of Mr. Jackson is that the Community Church appears under his hands too much as a revolt from existing church organizations. It is right to revolt against dogma, money, and sectarianism—these things have lain on the Church like a curse. But in the great religious movements of the past the element of revolt has been accidental; the essential and dynamic factor was a renewed religious consciousness, a flaming vision of some kind; and the aspect of revolt was created by the necessity of removing the obstacles that always stand in the way of new truth. But it does not appear from Mr. Jackson that there is a particularly new palpitating creative impulse behind the idea of the Community Church; and for this reason we should be inclined to despair somewhat of the Community Church if we did not know our John Haynes Holmes.

There is much in Mr. Jackson's volume that challenges comment. Such a phrase (not of course peculiar to Mr. Jackson) as "the religion of democracy" requires analysis, especially when it is treated as synonymous with the "religion of Jesus." The question of worship—which, after all, is the specific immediate purpose of a Church—is one to which Mr. Jackson has not very much to say. We should also like to see more discussion of the

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methods by which the Community Church is to be kept from evolving its own brand of sectarianism and becoming at last just one of the crowd. And half a hundred more things. Meantime, it is well to have this able contribution to a subject which we are going to have before us for many a long day. The story of Mr. Jackson's own pilgrimage into freedom is full of interest; it is the old story of the live man in the dead hole. But we take leave to wonder whether exodus is the sole or even the best way of emancipation in this particular region. Perhaps there is and always will be room for both the Percy Stickney Grants and the John Haynes Holmeses. Of course, if you are ejected, it is another story.

Dr. George Adam Smith has an apt description of Malachi as a "prophet within the law"; and the designation is no bad one of Dr. Ryan. It has been Dr. Ryan's special vocation to quicken the social conscience within the Catholic Church; and he has carried through his task with great ability and courage. The volume now before us gives permanent form to a number of papers which have appeared in Catholic periodicals and they reveal a large acquaintance with economic and industrial problems. It would be beside the point to criticize these papers without remembering that they were written for Catholics, and they therefore move comfortably within the four corners of the two recent Papal encyclicals upon these subjects. While we agree with many of Dr. Ryan's conclusions, we should find it difficult to subscribe to some of his premises and to submit to the intellectual limitations which follow. For one thing, we should decline to concede the right of the Pope to pronounce on matters that did not enter into the substance of faith and so to impede the most complete and untrammelled discussion of the problems of the political and social order; and our historical experience of the Church, whether Catholic or Protestant, does not encourage us to take the view that it holds the final key of social and economic salvation. Its own special mission is the creation of the moral and spiritual conditions of worthy and adequate social change; and its pronouncements for or against any particular theory of economic order are neither here nor there. But it is well that Dr. Ryan and others should write books and essays to keep before the minds of the faithful that there are urgent social questions and that the ethical implications of these questions are peculiarly relevant to the mission of a vital Church.

RICHARD ROBERTS

Gropings Toward a New Order

Towards New Horizons. By M. P. Willcocks. John Lane Company.

The New Citizenship. By A. T. Robertson. Fleming H. Revell Company.

Man and the New Democracy. By William A. McKeever. George H. Doran Company.

Education by Violence. By Henry Seidel Canby. The Macmillan Company.

"NOW that the world has come to the point when most precedents are likely to be destroyed, this principle of compromise is about as useful as a rainbow bridge when you want to conduct a wagon across a chasm." Thus Miss Willcocks emphasizes her opinion that readjustment without a fundamental reconstruction will be vain. Possessed of a telling mastery of phrase, supported by a consistent moral outlook, she has well expressed the longings and gropings of the period. Her horizon is that of England, which remains in so many respects the model of earnestness combined with insight and tempered with an abiding good sense. The English temperament has unusual skill in handling poison without getting poisoned. England bungles through, or sees things through on grit, to a fair issue, with a minimum of philosophy and a maximum of wisdom. But that typical British casual attitude which we admire for its reticent modesty will no longer suffice. Programs cannot much longer be avoided.

Miss Willcocks gives her attention to the failings and failures that block the path of progress. The question is whether the will to peace will assume a definite expression embodying the spirit of the new order (and it is in this respect that the treaty carries to so many the deepest disappointment); whether the false defenses of war (here characterized as a mediævalism that can see no future except something like the past, a money-mongering that moves only in the narrow orbit of profit, and a mysticism that is misled by a superficial glamour) can be disposed of, so that the new order may assume shape under the commanding principle of self-determination. This spirit, popular and democratic, invading the provinces of art, science, and education, will spread by its own leaven the ferment of the new ideal, the antidote to the old disaffection. So we may go to Miss Willcocks for those touches of criticism which the English are fond of inflicting upon themselves as playful scourges, not without a sting. The "rough and ready Englishman" is peculiarly inept in treating ideals, in meeting temperaments (which accounts for the Irish situation and the bungling with the "conscientious objector"), in understanding the foreign and the different. "Common sense, the Anglo-Saxon deity, fails you when you meet people unlike yourself, or see emotions displayed that you never felt." "When the Englishman is in a stupid mood, he can be amazingly barbarous." The Englishman is "a well-meaning autocrat, while the German is a tyrannical despot. The point is that they both rely on power for their moving principle." All of which, and much more of the same temper, is well enough as a clue to what's wrong with the world, and makes very good reading, but is all in the manner of housecleaning, and we still wait anxiously for the program of the new tenant.

Not that such writers—and Miss Willcocks belongs to the best of them—are devoid of constructive capacity; their thought moves in the realm of correction, which is indispensable to bringing home the sense of wrong, and the sense of need, out of which reformation grows. It is the same animus, when combined with the practical temper, equally high-motived, and with a keener touch for the diagnosis of patients rather than of diseases, that forms the asset of national reconstruction.

The danger of preaching and not practicing the Englishman avoids by the simple device of not preaching. It may be an accident that the heralds of the "new" presenting themselves at this moment—"The New Citizenship," by Professor A. T. Robertson, of the Theological Seminary, Louisville, and "Man and the New Democracy," by Dr. W. A. McKeever, of the University of Kansas—speak with what we must admit to be a characteristic American note, the one moral-theological, the other moral-educational. They both use the method of eloquence. The difficulty is only that those whom the lesson should reach are not in the congregation, and if present would not have their lethargy disturbed by the homiletic argument. Of the two, the educational propagandist is the heavier sinner. We all know that the hope of the future lies in the younger generation and know what the young are fed upon; but the educational diet, stated in specious calories of the several ingredients that are supposed to make up a normal man resulting from a normal exposure in a normal school, carry little conviction.

Professor Canby's book, though it bears the word "education" in its title and is written by one of the suspect, is a work of a wholly different school of educational dietetics. It has flavor as well as substance, and the individuality of composition that comes from freedom from obligation to sect or school, and from the mastery of the *chef* to whom recipes are not dogmas. "More light in 1918 would have made us see less clearly. . . . The time begins to be ripe for true writing. The crisis of the war is over; the crisis of readjustment is upon us; the penalty for plunging blindly upon new curves leading inevitably to new conflicts, lies measurably ahead. . . . The truth about the war, when it is written, will please neither pacifist nor militarist; neither preacher nor business man; but it may help to set them free from errors long deluding."

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Professor Canby's interest was focussed by trend and training upon the deeper currents of the troubled waters. "It is easier to make scholars than men." That is the lesson of education by the violence of war. And that has always been the point of view of men who really have a sense of the process of education. The war has brought forward the significance of personality and the insignificance of courses of study framed to shape men of a certain competence without taking much account of their minds. "Why is it that in the things of the mind—in his criticism of life, in his sense of values, in his knowledge of how to use his vital energy—the American is still so crude, so youthful in comparison with Englishmen less vigorous and less potential? It is because his 'liberal' education has blown over him in airy precepts, has been fed to him in capsules, swallowed but never digested, has come to him wrapped in words, instead of in active personality." Here is suggested a definite measure of reconstruction to fit men for the new order. It is the educational part of the program. It is different in plan and purpose from that pursued in Germany, which attracted so many Americans to German universities. The essential point is not to substitute England for Germany, but to achieve the end here.

The gropings for the new order seem vague and colorless in dead print. They are intensely real and vital in the changed relations and questionings of men, in their changed attitudes toward the old formulæ for preparation for life, the traditional ends set before them by the careers of those in power. Central to the scheme of reconstruction will be the definite suspicion of men who enjoy power for the sensation of exercising it. The most practical-minded men have come to think and speak in terms which a few years ago would have raised in their friends the suspicion of an attack of radicalism or senility. The struggle is far from won; the cleavage becomes clearer between those entrenched in the easy confidence of the established and those whose most vital motive for thought and action is in the hope that better things are to be. It is still somewhat dangerous for men of responsible positions to expound too clearly that their affiliations are with the future, not with the past. But presently it will be safe again to announce oneself a lover of peace without implying the libellous use of the term pacifist; possibly even to proclaim oneself a friend of the new order without running the risk of being called a Bolshevist.

From Oscar Wilde to Rupert Brooke

Modern English Writers: Being a Study of Imaginative Literature 1890-1914. By Harold Williams. Alfred A. Knopf.

DURING the quarter of a century between the *Yellow Book* and the *White Book* a great many literary bridges were thrown across the stream of English life. Some of them, being suspension bridges with weak backs, broke at once and sank out of sight; others, with piers that reached only to the surface of the current, or, if they went deeper, only stirred the soft mud at the bottom, sooner or later floated away; few remain. Not many reputations had a stride adequate for crossing the interval. It was and is a fascinating, elusive, perhaps on the whole a silly, quarter of a century, one about which most of us have vaguer notions than we care to admit, and one of which almost nobody, it might seem, would think of writing a detailed history. But Mr. Williams has both thought of this and done it, on a scale and with an enthusiasm sufficient to astonish, even to disarm. One's first impulses are simply to wonder at his enterprise, to envy him the reading he has had to do, and to exclaim "Had Xenophon, or Bishop Asser, or Francis Meres tried something even half as large!"

Upon inspection, Mr. Williams proves to be not so much a historian or a critic of literature as a purveyor of it. He has not gone in for main currents; he has not selected his writers rigorously. One thinks of Hazlitt's mind flashing upon the few outstanding figures of his age, of William Archer urbanely saving certain minor poets of his day from oblivion, of Professor Sherman and Professor Cunliffe blocking in their dark and light canvases with a dozen personalities or so. Mr. Williams attacks his subject rather as Professor Pattee has attacked the subject of American literature; he mentions everybody. Under four main heads, Poetry, Fiction, Drama, and Irish Poets and Playwrights, he passes more than two hundred authors in review. The question whether among two hundred writers of a single generation there can be enough differences to warrant the sketching of two hundred separate portraits is a question which does not answer itself in Mr. Williams's favor. A reader begins to find it hardly worth while to keep even the names of the minor Irish poetesses straight in his mind. That he should keep their flavors straight in his nostrils is entirely too much to ask. Nor is it insisted that Mr. Williams should have rendered all of his two hundred people equally unforgettable. No man's critical vocabulary is that copious. No man's appetite is that catholic. The scheme, even if workable, involves injustice to those writers who happen to be great, for to praise or blame a hundred and eighty-eight more or less insignificant persons memorably is to be unable to praise or blame the significant dozen significantly.

Mr. Williams has not been thoughtful. He has not wrestled with tendencies, mastered movements, and organized his world in a new, compelling way. As a critic his bearings are not large. He confines his inquiry to the belles-lettres of his period, ignoring the imaginative contributions made to literature by such explorers of fact and behavior as Havelock Ellis, Jane Harrison, J. G. Frazer, J. A. Thomson, and Gilbert Murray. Even in the field of belles-lettres Mr. Williams's memory is not long and his judgment is not especially disciplined. He is more than acquainted with the ordinary current preferences; he is perhaps too much at home among snap-reviewers' *clichés*. He draws or implies the inevitable distinctions between literature and life, the universal and the particular, realism and poetry, classicism and romanticism, literary drama and actable drama, the subjective and the objective, the emotional and the intellectual. He has his fling, which happens at the moment in England to be easy to take, at Bernard Shaw, and he dismisses Barrie as "insignificant." He is obsessed with suspicion of a thing he names "intellectualism" but never defines. He is so prodigal of his generalizations and so careless with other men's epithets that all save young or otherwise curious readers are likely to be warned off his pages at the start. He is often repetitious to the point of cloying, particularly when the burden he sings is not in itself a commanding one. He says three times, in as many consecutive paragraphs, that Arthur Symons is neither wholly a dreamer nor wholly hard-headed, and he returns at least six times to the fact that W. B. Yeats has inspired better things than he has written.

What he has been is enthusiastic, energetic, and picturesque, and here it is that he will prove a valuable stimulant to green readers who wish to "work up" the period, or to busy reviewers for the daily press who have needed some such reference book for their "background." Whether or not his selection has been the best, whether or not his framework is durable, the facts remain that he has selected and that he has built. Had we written the book we should have been profounder; but we let him write the book. He has hit upon usable if superficial distinctions; he has collected and arranged average notions, fixed floating preferences, codified gossip, sketched schools, and pointed to the obvious influences. His best work has been done in the setting forth of personalities. Being weak in analysis, he is untrustworthy when he condemns; but he can expound and recommend with a fervor that is rarely to be gainsaid. He is most at ease in the department of fiction, as befits the author of a history of the English novel; his exposition of plots is remarkably clear and warm. But everywhere he is a charming pleader, an instriguing showman. Few will resist his pages on W. E. Henley, J. M. Synge, St. John Hankin, George Moore, George Gissing, Samuel Butler, and Rudyard Kipling. He emphasizes more forcibly than anyone else has done the potency

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of Henley as editor, imperialist, and muscular agnostic. His account of Synge on the Aran Islands must vie with his picture of George Moore's mind for the honor of first position among his vignettes of genius. He is catholic without being in all cases colorless. He is apt and free at quotation, yet knows when not to quote. Many of his impressions will want correcting; which is better by far than saying that he has left no impressions at all.

A Wan Satirist

Artemus Ward (Charles Farrar Browne). A Biography and Bibliography. By Don C. Seitz. Harper and Brothers.

THAT generation of American humorists which included Artemus Ward, Josh Billings, Petroleum V. Nasby, and John Phœnix, and which made a glorious passing in Mark Twain, seems in a way as remote to us now as one of Mr. Wells's families of quadrupeds. That unrestrained laughter, suggesting fringes of still uncleared timber, the ring of hammers in solidly established blacksmith shops, Methodist meeting-houses, print dresses, cheap whiskey, strong molasses, strong tobacco, instantaneous fights, and great good nature, sounds at times as if it came to us from a valley on the other side of a very high mountain. Yet there is a sense in which that generation is not remote at all, but so near that we see ourselves distinctly as the fruit of it. For the all-important, the unique, thing about it was that it could read and write. Other patches of the earth's surface have been discovered and filled rapidly with people, have yielded no doubt as many human heroisms and grotesquenesses as were yielded in the middle of the last century by the Ohio and Mississippi basins, and have produced as many humorists; but this frontier was articulate. Along with bodies and souls from the East came schoolbooks and printing presses. One is inclined to agree with almost any journalist that the first fact about the American interior was the newspaper. The very second generation there was a self-conscious one and, though we patronize it, a civilized one. Of that civilization and of that newspaper was Artemus Ward.

In Waterford, Maine, the future Artemus Ward, at thirteen, with only "about enough education for a signboard," went into a printing office. At seventeen he promoted himself to Boston, where he was stirred by the poetry not of Homer and Vergil, but of John Godfrey Saxe and Charles Graham Halpine. Twenty found him longing for the West, meaning Ohio; at twenty-three he found himself, after casual wanderings through Cincinnati, Dayton, Springfield, Sandusky, Tiffin, and Toledo, city editor of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*. It was here in the next year, 1858, that he became Artemus Ward and opened a career which the public never allowed him to close. Mr. Seitz prints the inimitable showman's letters as they first appeared in Cleveland in all their profound guilelessness; Browne did nothing later that was better. Fond of Cleveland, but feeling confined there, he went on to New York in 1860 and soon was managing editor of *Vanity Fair*, "the *Punch* of America," a weekly magazine for which he was permitted to write as much or as little as he liked; for he could not produce humor to order and always composed with painful slowness. But he was not a manager, and when the war settled on the paper like a wet blanket, he left it to realize his lifelong ambitions as a comic lecturer, touring with great success New England, the Middle States, the Middle West (with a night of wonderful triumph in Cleveland), the far West, New York again, and finally England, where he died of consumption in 1867.

Mr. Seitz, with quotations from English and American reviews of the lectures, presents a vivid picture of Browne's platform figure, thin, diffident, homely, melancholy, naïve, convulsing. His art was the art of plaintive verbal confusion, his humor the humor of helplessness. He touched England deeply, in *Punch* and on the rostrum, as something very rare and American; seeming so American in fact, that he puzzled liberal John Bright, who complained of his talk on the Mormons that "its information was meagre, and presented in a desultory, disconnected manner." Browne was without a drop of malice, though he was a satirist in that he sweetly burlesqued popular monstrosities of sentiment and prevailing rotundities of expression. His plea for humorists in general was an intelligent one: "They have helped the truth along without encumbering it with themselves." His own office was to meet meanness face to face and melt it with grimaces. If he was not kind, and if he was not original, America has made none but sour and derivative men.

Books in Brief

MR. ARTHUR BULLARD has written a book on Russia, "The Russian Pendulum" (Macmillan), with most of which most people will agree. He believes that the revolution was inevitable and will result in much permanent good. He strongly disapproves of the principles and the despotic methods of the Bolsheviki. He advocates intervention in the economic and industrial life of Russia as the only means of enabling that country to regain its proper standing in the world. He shows himself well disposed, sympathetic, and fair-minded in every way. But he is not remarkable for the amount of his novel information or for comprehension of the forces at work, nor is he very clear-cut in his view of the means by which the desired readjustment is to be brought about. His best chapter is a survey of the mistakes of Allied diplomacy in Russia, mistakes often due to the limited facilities for obtaining trustworthy information. In analyzing the handicaps under which the diplomats labored, chief of which was dependence upon interested and partisan interpreters, he unintentionally suggests his own plight. It is to be feared that he too has accepted much on faith, and that he was, moreover, impelled by a theoretical bias to explain away facts that did not harmonize with his preconceptions. This tendency is especially striking in his treatment of Kolchak, toward whom he manifests a generous tolerance. Himself a witness of the excesses committed in Vladivostok in the name of the Supreme Ruler, he ascribes every outrage to some irresponsible subordinate or to some unescapable necessity of civil war, while his faith in the beneficent influence of this loyal, upright, and patriotic leader of Russia's hope rests only on vague reports which reach him from remote distances. Similarly Mr. Bullard's criticism of Lenin and the Bolsheviki (whose name for some reason not to be discovered in the Russian language itself he consistently misspells as Bolshiviki) is based on the assumption that their extremest utterances must be viewed as the key to their policies, though it be in plain disregard of such political sagacity as these politicians have displayed and though it fail to square with the charge of shameless opportunism which Mr. Bullard brings against them. To his statement of remedies as well as to his other judgments, Mr. Bullard is also led more by his wishes than the facts. He summons up a vision of a Russia somehow rescued from the Bolsheviki and nursed back from insanity to a normal and healthy outlook on life by the League of Nations, which he imagines as functioning with a harmonious, disinterested efficiency and administering Russia, like the regions of the Congo, for the benefit of its backward inhabitants till they can prove fitness to look after their own affairs.

IN his latest volume, "A Private in the Guards" (Macmillan), Mr. Stephen Graham tells how he tore his heart from Asia during the third year of the war and flung it upon the breast of France; how he abandoned Tolstoi for Mr. Kipling; how he laid down the cross and took up the bayonet. The haunter of Far Eastern forests, the burner of candles in turreted temples, the exotic Christian, comes home to the brutalities and obscenities of his own front yard. His book is the record of a sensitive and somewhat effeminate temperament exposed to raw reality, first

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in an English training camp and then in the trenches in France. In the training camp, which he names Little Sparta, he swallows discipline whole, grimacing a bit, but refusing to grant that any part of it is really bad. The sergeants cuff and curse their men, but it is necessary that they should; for must not a recruit be thoroughly broken before he is shipped to the front? Mr. Graham, being already broken (broken to religion), is amenable from the start; like the average thoughtless American boy who was drafted, he succumbs at once to the fascinating rigors of drill, fatigue, and reprimand; he knows the ecstasy of surrender, the beatitude of the worm in the dust. The wan and not quite genuine cheerfulness of this first portion of his book, whatever kind of soldier it may prove him to have been, makes against his effectiveness as a writer. His pictures of Little Sparta are not clear-cut because they do not represent what he actually saw. Since actually he loathed Little Sparta, there is no way in nature for him to be convincing other than by representing Little Sparta as loathsome. The situation calls for a satirist, not an apologist, for a sceptic, not a mystic, for a hater, not a lover, for aquafortis, not water colors. The later chapters tell a truer tale; for Mr. Graham did not feel at home among the butchers at the front, and he plainly says so. Simplicity triumphs in his account of the relief which the armistice brought. There is not much muscle in the arm which holds his pen, and there are not many nerves; but there is a kind of feeling, which, when it is honestly directed, can trace touching lines on paper.

NOT in a month of Merry Christmases have the readers of books been faced with a more engaging question than the one that gives title to Floyd Dell's new volume on education—"Were You Ever a Child?" (Knopf). To look beyond the preliminary enticement of the title is to discover that the author has assumed an obligation which Barrie himself could not fulfil—the obligation to maintain throughout a long discussion the delightful whimsicality of the first question. Even so, one forgives much in the presence of such earnestness, such gulpy and youthful eagerness to humanize a debate first and an institution afterwards. If we are to believe the author, the latter task is by no means a hopeless one. A large part of the adult public is actually in danger of being "intellectually knocked down and run over" by the pageant of educational progress. The schools of America, having escaped the danger of a Germanized system of narrow and perhaps hereditary specialization, now face the problem of which education must find a solution—"the divorce between the concerns of the artist and the child, and the concerns of the world," between the creative outworking of dreams and "meaningless toil performed at the bidding of another under compulsion." If in the past people have had to choose "between being children in a tiny sphere all their lives, or going into the larger world of reality as slaves," there is yet hope for the future. And this hope looks to the benevolent assimilation of education by the child-art world where the creative impulse keeps life alive, and then finally to the assimilation of the balance of human activities by education. The first step is the removal of education from adultdom to the child's side of the line that divides joyous creation from slavish drudgery. If this does not altogether prepare society to make the man without killing the artist, it at least permits that play be kept alive a little longer. . . . Utopian? Perhaps. But one delights to learn that in certain schools here and there within the walls of the Babylon of America, Utopia is already at hand.

THAT valuable goods come in small packages has been again illustrated by Rufus M. Jones's "Story of George Fox" (Macmillan). Narrow as is its scope and unpretentious the style of this short biography written for young people, it portrays the founder of the Society of Friends with masterly art. There are few better sources for any biography than Fox's Journal, and there are few more interesting characters in the annals of religious enthusiasm than he of whom Macaulay said that he took everything in Scripture literally that others took figuratively, and everything figuratively that others took literally. He would not say "you" instead of "thou," for it would be a mark of undue respect; he would not take his hat off to anyone or in court because Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego wore their hats before Nebuchadnezzar; he would not take an oath as required by law because Christ had said "swear not at all." He was rewarded for the bitter persecutions he suffered by his visions of God and by the miraculous escapes and mercies vouchsafed him. He talked with Cromwell more than once and bade him not to take the crown of England, but to "mind the crown that was immortal." On the last occasion he saw the Protector he "felt a waft of death go forth against him, so that he looked like a dead man." And from great Oliver he got this testimony: "Now I see that there is risen up a people that I cannot win with gifts, honors, offices, and places; but all other sects and people I can." Fox's persecutors and jailers also bore witness of him: "He was as stiff as a tree and as pure as a bell; for we could never bow him." He journeyed far and wide to preach his gospel, not only in England, but in Scotland and in America. Of the former country he says: "When I first set my horse's feet upon Scottish ground, I felt the seed of God to sparkle about me, like innumerable sparks of fire." In America he preached to the Indians as well as to the whites. Here it was not he but his friend and biographer William Penn that first made the Quakers a great power in the New World. And while history is written in America neither Fox nor Penn will lack their due meed of glory.

AS some one has said that reading Cicero's "De Senectute" made him want to grow old, so the readers of the Right Reverend Edward Mercer's "Why Do We Die? An Essay in Thanatology" (Dutton) may feel that they quite long for death. His reverence seems to be in love with easeful death himself, and calls him soft names in many a commonplace culled from the classics. Quoting the anecdote of Livingstone and the lion, the author shows that there is commonly neither dread nor pain in the act of death, and that the corruption of the grave can have no terrors for the rational man. He goes on to prove that there is an instinct for death, no less natural at its time than the instinct for life. Finally, the good ex-bishop *in partibus infidelium* argues for a faith in immortality. He shows that as the electron is the unit for the physicist, the atom for the chemist, the cell for the biologist, so there are higher units of consciousness for the philosopher, which, after Bruno and Leibnitz, he names monads. These monads, though composed of other units, are in themselves simple and in their nature indestructible. They must therefore survive bodily dissolution. What, then, is the function of death? Quoting Goethe's saying that "death is nature's device to secure more life," he turns it around in a way not contemplated by the author, trying to show that in a nobler sense it secures more life not only for the race but for the individual. Though it is doubtful whether either scientists or philosophers would heartily endorse all the positions taken by Dr. Mercer, it is pleasant to read a book written with good temper and rationality, without appeal to the prevalent superstitions of mediums and table-tipping.

The Perfect Gentleman has always lacked brains, and Mr. Ralph Bergengren slyly pokes fun at the creature. "The Perfect Gentleman" (Atlantic Monthly Press) offers the Gentle Reader compelling glimpses into sacred sartorial affairs. The author of Furnace and I intimately reveals that masculine buried life brought to so happy a perfection in the tailor's model, Charley Wax. The haircut ("term of contemptuous brevity"), shining one's shoes, making calls, lying in bed, thoughts while shaving, and a few simple directions for being the Perfect Gentleman, are cheerful subjects which deserve the applauding chuckle. The machinery of the Correspondence School whereby Dynamo Doit teaches you "How not to be a

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Bore"; boot-blacking as an exercise for stout gentlemen; the stout gentleman dressed in eye-glasses and a modified union suit; the inimitable Charley Wax himself; the caudal appendage for helping out at afternoon tea; the Touchstonian analysis of the social call; the invention of the bed of leaves slowly proceeding through the Pliocene era (suggesting Lamb's Roast Pig extravaganza)—such vagaries are good enough to while away the evening of far less than a Perfect Gentleman. The lightest of the light, like froth in the shaving-cup, these essays, in wealth of content, are as water from the bath-room tap between seven and nine in the morning. A far cry from "Sartor Resartus"! In spite of their lack of undertones, they have the charm of the irrepressible small boy bursting out with subjects not usually considered elegant enough for polite conversation.

Drama

Play-Making

AT a recent Broadway opening the play-bill instructed the audience that the new drama to be presented was "by Margaret Lane and Howard Jack." These names at least will serve to veil the crude facts, preserve the moral, and guard the proprieties. Below was the further information, subdued by smaller type and a pair of parentheses, that the work of these authors was "based on a play by Milton Davis." It was no masterpiece. It has already gone the way of many of these noisy concoctions. But a clever actress played the chief part, and the first night audience glowed and applauded, and there was a flutter of enthusiastic visiting in the stalls and boxes. Indiscriminate and slightly illiterate adjectives hummed in the air. At the appropriate moment there was a loud and persistent call for the author. Needless to say that these play-makers and press agents, costumers and actresses out of work, friends, "fans," and scene painters had no desire to rouse Mr. Milton Davis, who was, after all, the "onlie begetter" of the evening's masterpiece, out of his decent obscurity. Nor was their applause more than perfunctory when Miss Margaret Lane, a stout, scared lady, blinked for a forlorn moment across the footlights. It was the great Mr. Howard Jack whom the audience desired to see. He came—large, lustrous, easy, commanding. He leaned on a polished cane and his top-hat flashed. Diamonds twinkled from his studs and waistcoat buttons. A large-boned, pink, crudely impressive man, radiating success, monarch of the scene he surveyed. He made the desired curtain speech. He explained, not without wit and adroitness, that more and more as time went on he had to neglect his own work and act the part of a "play surgeon." Managers had promising "scripts"—as had been the case here—but the plays were not in shape to please the public. Then he was called in to cut, re-write, and stage. It was a humble office but a necessary one. At last he had found a name for it. A tumult of respect and affection followed him into the wings. In how many bosoms glowed the hope that some day a shy little manuscript now hidden in some managerial safe would attract the lordly eye of Mr. Jack and become a roaring Broadway hit! How many brown and blond and black little heads thought of the many plays full of the "cutest" parts which it was the great man's privilege to cast! Why should they not applaud him? It was a touching scene.

Mr. Howard Jack is not the only unerring judge of the public heart. There are others who infuse "pep," "punch," and patriotism into the plays on which they operate. And sometimes these processes have a history which is not nearly so gay as the result. We do not know, for that matter, the feelings of the shadowy Milton Davis. We happen to know, on the other hand, the inner and most instructive history of another case. About five years ago a young playwright, lacking neither talent, mind, nor character, hit upon an ingenious technical device and a popular fable. His play was very successful. The managers, like Oliver Twist, asked for more. But our friend had other notions concerning his art. A melodrama was well enough. You made a little money with it in order to devote yourself to your true business. He wrote, to use his own words, "fantasy, naked tragedy, satiric comedy, psychological drama." The managers would have none of it. They demanded another "Day in Court." One cannot live on the royalties of a single play forever. The young playwright wrote another ingenious melodrama. But he saw no reason why even into such a play one might not weave a little truth, some threads of intellectual honesty. In the centre of his action he therefore placed an artist who, in a lurid enough way, does symbolize an eternal human conflict. The rest was stage carpentry. But our playwright had sacrificed briefly to his true gods. A great authority, a greater than Mr. Jack—the pundit of pundits—refused the play. The artist, he said curtly, "would get a laugh." A somewhat less magnificent personage condescended to explain. "No artist is ever taken seriously by an audience." Hence the man in the stalls "has no interest in seeing him killed." And since, as we pointed out recently, the melodrama is a mimic man-hunt, to arouse such an interest is to win one's battle. At this point the play surgeons entered the game. Their task was to dehumanize the author's protagonist and to reduce the whole play to a consistently melodramatic level. One suggested turning the artist into a licentious club man. The author refused. A lady surgeon, herself a writer who ought to be above such things, advised making him a psychoanalyst. Then the "star" took a hand. He had been selected to play, not, of course, the now plainly wicked artist-clubman-doctor, but the righteous district attorney who brings the rogue to justice and marries the heroine. This gentleman declared that the doctor was still "far too human." He might "steal the play from the star!" Preliminary performances, held on the road, turned the poor artist of the original play not only into a knave, but into a "nigger." The star, furthermore, interpolated for himself a number of burly and sentimental and patriotic lines which he copyrighted in his own name. To the dismayed author hurrying across the continent to save some rag of his artistic decency, a flat ultimatum was presented. The play is a success. The villain is killed every night to the glee of the stalls. The author's name shimmers in electric lights. He is making money; he is envied. His real work lies in his desk. The play surgeons will continue to share his earnings. For he will try again to write not quite as badly as one can. But he must live.

There are tailor-made plays. A popular star cannot find a medium for his art. That statement which one hears so often is, if literally accepted, sheer nonsense. What the star means is that there exists, naturally enough, no play in the world in which he can exploit his personal mannerisms and favorite tricks in the centre of the stage throughout an evening. The masters, alas, did not foresee him. In reality he does not want to act, but, like Tom Sawyer, to show off. Hence he himself or his sister or his wife writes a dramatic entertainment about him in his most successful and fetching poses. But the manuscript has not yet the requisite theatrical "pep" and "punch." Enter the play surgeon as co-author.

There are ghost plays. A young author has a manuscript. One of the great play surgeons sees possibilities in it. A contract is drawn up according to which the surgeon has the right to make any and all changes he sees fit. The surgeon also figures as chief author and receives, contractually, two-thirds of all royalties. The young author, who is something of an artist, is ashamed of his bargain. But he must live. Such is the art of play-making, the noble comradeship of collaboration! Learned professors speak of collaboration and think of Beaumont and Fletcher. They should remember the elder Dumas and his methods of manufacturing literature. His example lives and thrives.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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Art

Art and the War

Art and the Great War. By A. E. Gallatin. E. P. Dutton and Company.

IN consideration of the vast amount of material which went into the making of "Art and the Great War," and the probable difficulty of assembling it, Mr. Gallatin has accomplished his task with discrimination. The book is a quarto, handsomely bound and printed, and contains one hundred illustrations, three of them in color. The pictorial matter falls into three divisions, reviewing the art of the United States, Great Britain, and France; each division contains a preface by Mr. Gallatin. These prefaces touch upon all the war activities with which artists were concerned, from the camouflaging of ships to the modelling of new faces for mutilated soldiers. Naturally Mr. Gallatin gives most space to the work of American artists, although in his opinion their work as a whole falls far below the standard set by the British.

There is a reason for the comparatively poor showing made by the United States, and that reason lies in the policy of the Government—in its short-sightedness and faulty judgment in the selection of official artists. Mr. Gallatin draws an interesting contrast between the measures of our Government and those of Great Britain. "The greatest possible credit is due the British and Canadian Governments, as well as to the Commonwealth of Australia, for the splendid manner in which they went about obtaining pictorial records of the war. They sent their best artists to the front and these artists covered all phases of the war in a most thoroughgoing and masterly fashion. France also had her official artists, and like Great Britain and Canada is to have a permanent war museum of pictures. That the Government of the United States did not realize the great importance of this work is certainly most regrettable and a serious reflection upon the vision and intelligence of those responsible. A few of our illustrators, it is true, were despatched to France to make a pictorial record of our war activities, but their drawings, for the most part, are rather commonplace. Alongside the paintings and drawings by Sir William Orpen, Mr. Nevinson, Messrs. John and Paul Nash, the drawings by Messrs. Bone and McBey, the paintings by Sir John Lavery, and all the rest of the able works executed for the British and Canadian Governments, they apepar very feeble indeed. Why were not such of our painters as Messrs. Childe Hassam, Sargent, George Luks, George Bellows, William J. Glackens, Gifford Beal, and Rockwell Kent in France recording the life of our men and their part in the great conflict? And Mr. John C. Johansen to paint the great docks and railway systems built by the Engineer Corps? It was the purpose of the War Department not to send painters, but illustrators who had the capacity for recording impressions and whose work was suitable for reproduction in the press. This was a mistake. Even as drawings suitable for publication in the press the pictures were not a success."

Aside from the collection of drawings by official artists, which "leaves much to be desired," there remain posters, lithographs, and paintings executed for patriotic purposes, which, with less documentary interest, are in many cases more important as works of art. Noteworthy among these are the paintings and lithographs by George Bellows. Two examples of his work are included in Mr. Gallatin's book. The Murder of Edith Cavell is splendid; the composition is graphically massed, and is as finely balanced as one of Rembrandt's biblical subjects. Of the Massacre of Dinant it is no exaggeration to say that Goya never suggested the horror of war with more shuddering realism than this. It is almost too painful for normal nerves. George Luks's Blue Devils evokes the praise of Mr. Gallatin, and deservedly so; although the color reproduction, used as a frontispiece to the

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book, falls far short of the original oil. The Peace Celebration by the same painter seems strangely galvanized; the page fairly crackles with excitement. Mr. Gallatin includes another oil painting, one by Samuel Woolf, which he does not comment upon. This canvas, First Aid Station at Seicheprey, was done "on the spot"; it is painted with great technical vigor. With the exception of Paul Manship, whose Jeanne d'Arc medal is shown, the sculptors are represented only by Mahonri Young. His negro soldier, One of the Buffaloes, is an excellent bit of character; it hints at humor without caricature. Mr. Gallatin is fond of the poster, and presents a number of the most effective of our war posters. It will be a great relief to lovers of art to learn that The Greatest Mother in the World poster does not appear in this collection. Among the best selected by Mr. Gallatin are Wallace Morgan's Feed a Fighter, C. B. Fall's Books Wanted, and George Illian's Keep it Coming.

There is more art in the British section than in all the rest of the book put together. Upon turning to it, one is immediately confronted by a frontispiece in color by Sir William Orpen. Here is a portrait of a grenadier guardsman in full trench equipment. It is an intensely human thing—uncanny almost in its grasp of personality; as a technical accomplishment alone it is a work of the highest order. Orpen's sketch, South Irish Horse, is one of the finest examples of draughtmanship in the volume. Muirhead Bone's sketches about the shipyards are full of light and action; he has simplified complex subject-matter with much feeling. No war artist has equalled C. R. W. Nevinson in the power to invoke a mood from the devastated battlefields. In his pictures the spirit of desolation broods with a strange disquieting beauty. Nevinson feels the poetry of waste places with something of the tragic intensity of Thomas Hardy. The landscape entitled That Cursed Wood will haunt the imagination long after most of the pictures in this book are forgotten. Several British posters are reproduced, the best of them being by Frank Brangwyn and G. Spencer Pryse. Brangwyn's are rather disappointing, but Pryse's, and especially the one entitled The Only Road for an Englishman, are superb.

The French work shown by Mr. Gallatin loses decidedly in impressiveness when compared with the British. The only oil painting reproduced is an aerial combat by Lieutenant Farré; and it has nothing like the dynamic quality of Nevinson's Swooping on a Taube. The author's conviction may not be an erroneous one that French war art is better represented by posters and lithographs than by the drawings and paintings of official artists; but a few examples of official inferiority might have been given for the sake of comparison. To Steinlen and Forain, of the poster and lithograph men, is accorded the most prominent space. Forain's drawings—at least those selected by Mr. Gallatin—are conceived with much more feeling than those by Steinlen. The pathos of Forain's The Prisoner is suggested with beautiful simplicity and reserve. Steinlen's Leaving the German Jail is easily the most eloquent of his lithographs. The posters of Sem and Faivre, although they do not call for extended comment, are full of Gallic fire and dramatic vigor.

Mr. Gallatin's performance is a most commendable one. His critical comments are straightforward, and almost invariably command respect. His book is the first serious attempt to orientate the representative art produced during the war by the three most powerful nations allied against Germany. It was a large undertaking, even with its scope so sharply delimited. Other books no doubt in the course of time will follow it, and we may see what the great struggle has contributed to the art of nations unrepresented here. Perhaps a time may come when we may feel an interest even in the war psychology of the harried Teuton as it impressed itself on his national art, and run no risk of social ostracism. Mars has had his fling in the councils of the Muses; and most of us will view his departure from Parnassus without regret. Militarists, who are a highly mystical lot about their subject, as William James avers, will doubtless contend that great art has been woven out of the spiritual values that the war alone could create; but it is difficult to see in Mr. Gallatin's book, and will be probably in any that may follow it, how the war has led art and the human spirit to Olympian heights.

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The Duty of the United States

By FRANK A. VANDERLIP

THERE is great confusion of opinion in regard to the fundamentals of international financial and industrial affairs. There is a wide divergence of conclusions concerning what our attitude should be and what course we should follow. On one hand is the view expressed in a recent letter signed by Secretary Glass in relation to a suggestion for an international financial conference. In that letter Secretary Glass took the position that under no circumstances should this Government increase the loans which it has now made, aggregating nearly $10,000,000,000, to European countries. He held that Europe's only salvation lay in going to work; that many European Governments have a domestic budget showing expenditures far in excess of income; that in the case of a number of nations there is an attempt to make up this gap in the budget by printing irredeemable currency; that the resulting depreciation in the value of the currency is reflected in the low rates for foreign exchanges; that those Governments should decrease their expenditures and increase their taxation so that their budgets balance and they cease adding to their volume of paper currency; that work should be resumed in the industrial establishments so that goods may be exported to pay for the imports so urgently needed; in a word that the remedy for Europe's plight lies in Europe's hands.

There is another view that takes into account the structure of European economic life. The last fifty years' development of the industrial order has resulted in building up great areas of population that are dependent upon foreign trade for a livelihood. These areas of industrial population must manufacture for export in order to create the foreign credits to pay for the food and raw material necessary to feed people and machines if the industrial cycle is to be continued. It is pointed out that Europe's population under this industrial era has increased to such a point that there are now approximately a hundred million people in excess of the number that can be fed from the products of the fields of Europe at the standard of life that prevailed prior to the Great War. This great mass of population has heretofore been fed by means of the export of manufactured products, which paid for the import of food and raw materials.

The view that I am now outlining, which is also the view I personally take, holds that there has been a disorganization of the industrial and commercial life of Europe, that there has been put in the way of the reëstablishment of industry such obstacles in the form of broken-down domestic transportation, impairment of man power, discouragement or despair in regard to the future, present scarcity of fuel and food difficulties connected with new national boundary lines, and the hampering effect of the new tariffs thus created, that all combine to make the reëstablishment of industry on its old scale almost impossible.

Added to these difficulties are two other obstacles of great importance. The excessive increase of irredeemable paper money has so depreciated the value of the currency of several countries that the foreign exchanges reflecting the depreciation in currency value have sunk so low as to make imports paid for on a gold basis almost prohibitory. The other obstacle lies in the fact that since the armistice the need for imports has been far greater than ever before because of the fact that all of the European countries were short of food and raw materials and were even desirous of importing vast amounts of manufactured goods; while their exports, owing to the disorganization of their industry, were only a fraction of their import demands. When a nation's imports exceed its exports the unfavorable trade balance can only be settled by gold or credits. The European countries have largely exhausted their ability to ship gold and have now almost fully exhausted their ability to secure credit under any plan that has yet been seriously attempted.

The conclusion of those who hold this latter view is that it is impossible for Europe, left to itself, to rehabilitate itself industrially; that European affairs are progressing steadily toward a more and more unfavorable situation; that the salvation of Europe lies in some method being formulated so that sufficient credit can be had and properly allocated to furnish the raw material which will enable industries to get started; and that it is to America's interest from every point of view to furnish as much as it can of absolutely necessary food and raw material on credit, so that the old industrial order may be resumed, and exports in sufficient amount to pay for the needed food and raw material may speedily be produced.

I think I have fairly stated the two points of view. According to one point of view, time will tend to cure Europe's present ills. The other leads to the conclusion that without help time is only pushing Europe nearer to a social and financial breakdown, and that the imminence of such a breakdown presents great possibilities of political revolution and even the chance of an extension of the Bolshevist area of political thought.

The United States ought to have positive information as to which of these views is correct. Our Government should be in a position to furnish that information. I believe there has been a gross lack of preparedness on the part of the Government, and that it is either unable to give this information, or for some reason withholds it, and that therefore we lack the authoritative voice that should tell us what is the true situation. It might be presumed that our business interests at least would have the facts, if the Government has not. The truth is that business interests are quite as confused about the true situation in Europe as is the general public. There is the same wide divergence of opinion as to whether time is working toward improvement or toward disintegration. We have not assumed the position of financial leadership that has been pressed upon us. We have been almost wholly absorbed with the great activities of our domestic situation. In prosecuting those activities we have permitted an inflation of credit that has detracted greatly

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from our present ability to give financial help outside of the country. That inflation has been the true cause of the rise in prices, of the social unrest, the industrial dissatisfaction and disturbance, and of many social injustices resulting from the depreciation in our financial standard of value.

There are some things that are needed that can be seen with distinctness. We should halt further inflation. We have not halted it, even at this period of the year when under all ordinary conditions there should be a contraction of bank credits. In spite of the almost fatally delayed action of the Federal Reserve Board in raising the re-discount rate, we have seen each week since that action a deterioration in the reserve position of the Federal Reserve Banks. Every point of reduction in the Federal Reserve Banks' ratio of reserve to liability marks a further inflation of bank credits and an added tendency toward higher prices. Rising prices offer great speculative and other profits and those profits have been strewn about with lavish hands. If we are to play anything but an ignoble part in world financial affairs we should halt sharply our tendency toward inflation and abandon our general extravagance. Only through thrift can we build up any capital fund that will enable us to be of use to the world in its present extremity.

It seems to me perfectly clear in any event that the Government of the United States should not increase its loans to European Governments. If it is desirable to give additional credits to Europe, and personally I believe it is, those credits should be of such a character as to their safety and income return that they will appeal to our investing public. I believe it would be possible to create securities of such a character, but no attempt has yet been made to do it. The people of this country are entitled to know on the highest authority which view of Europe's condition is the true one, and they are entitled to have leadership, both from the Government and from the financial powers, that will point out our national duty and formulate plans which, with the sympathy and leadership of government and finance, I believe our people are ready to carry through.

Europe's Insolvency

By MARK O. PRENTISS

IT is with a profound appreciation of the old saying that the pessimist is the most unpopular man in the world and yet with a realization of present-day responsibilities that I say that in my opinion the United States might just as well write down its loans to Europe as war expense, and give up any hope of recovering either principal or interest. Europe is insolvent today, and its appeals for financial assistance should be recognized in this country as appeals for charity. They are not business propositions, and however hard the realization of this fact may hit Americans who already have invested in European loans, it is only fair that the American people should be told the facts.

The recent decline in foreign exchange was only a first response to the public statement of the facts of the international financial situation. Exchange has rallied temporarily, but it will go further down. It is conceivable that exchanges may continue their rapid decline to the vanishing point—that Austrian exchange will follow Russian, and German will follow Austrian; that the exchanges of some of the western countries will follow those of countries east of the Rhine; that the money of the countries of the world will have absolutely no value in international exchange. And this is a possibility of the immediate future—not a matter of years, but of weeks or months at the most.

International finance is in such a condition that big business men and international bankers are compelled to use words which they have always been reluctant to employ. It is unfortunate to have to talk of "insolvency" and "bankruptcy" in speaking of our associates in the late war, but the facts are more unfortunate than the words. It is disastrous that a condition should exist which makes necessary the use of the word "repudiation" in connection with the finances of those countries, but more and more their statesmen and financiers are coming to the realization that repudiation is the only way out. The present attempts to fund foreign debts and devise some form of promise to pay that will not upset the present budgets is in substance an attempt to establish receivership certificates. Few men in world-wide contact with actual conditions, uninfluenced by sentiment, really have much hope that the international debts will ever be paid. No country in Europe shows any real sign of getting back to work on a rational basis, and the financial tangle cannot be straightened out until Europe begins to produce and export in large quantity—and repudiation may come first.

Germany's condition is such that even the Allied Governments are coming to admit the economic impossibility of the peace treaty—an economic impossibility if ever there was one—and to doubt that Germany ever will be able to pay any of the substantial indemnity on which France, England, Belgium, and Italy have relied to put their own financial houses in order; and I only wish to refer to the speeches of English politicians at the time the elections took place after the armistice, when they definitely promised the voters that Germany should be made to pay for the war. On that platform the country voted for the present British Government.

France is in a hopeless situation because it never made any attempt to pay an appreciable part of its war debt by taxation, but slid along in the easy expectation of recovering huge indemnities from Germany and making good its losses in Russia. France's enormous loans to Russia have vanished, and the hope of large indemnities from Germany has faded. Germany is not worth over $50,000,000,000 at a liberal estimate, without allowing for the serious depreciation of its railways and other public utilities, nor for its decreased man-power and wealth-producing territories; and its national indebtedness today is about $55,000,000,000. Germany is, furthermore, short of raw materials, food and other vital commodities needed not only to sustain its life, but also to reconstruct its fiscal position by increased exports. Without shipping, without trading facilities of any kind, with an enormously increased cost of transportation and an unfavorable rate of exchange, Germany is unable to draw from foreign countries any of the urgently required commodities. As an example, a bushel of wheat which before the war Germany imported at a cost of, roughly speaking, 4 marks, costs today 400 marks; and other commodities which it has to pay for—whether raw material or life's necessities—are on a similar basis of cost.

The interest charges on Italy's national debt are almost as great as its gross national income before the war. Italy has lost its former income from the masses of tourists who visited the country; it has lost its cheap labor, and the cost of importing the raw materials on which it is absolutely de-

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pendent has skyrocketed. Where formerly it imported 11,000,000 tons of coal costing in its own currency 20 to 25 lira a ton (four to five dollars), it now has to import just as many tons, and with its present enormously depreciated currency each ton costs from 600 to 700 lira. Naturally, this increases in proportion the cost of transportation, therefore directly affecting the actual cost of other commodities, whether produced in the interior or imported from abroad; and as Italy has also to import great quantities of food and other raw materials for its industries, there is little chance of continuing to do business on this basis. Italy's situation is more or less like that of the other European countries, which are dependent more and more on food and raw materials to be supplied by foreign countries, not only to sustain their own home life, but in order to enable them to export the manufactured articles wherewith to pay for the imported foodstuffs. Add to the increase in prices caused by the fall in Italian exchange the alarming increase in the cost of ocean transport from the United States (from less than two dollars to more than twenty dollars a ton) and Italy's deplorable situation is obvious.

It is not pleasant to discuss Great Britain's plight. People look upon Great Britain as the most solvent of all European nations, and the thought of British repudiation seems almost sacrilegious. Yet here are the facts as I have deduced them. Before the war Great Britain had $20,000,000,000 invested throughout the world. Forced sales, shrinkage, and other factors have reduced this by 75 per cent., leaving perhaps $5,000,000,000. Last year Great Britain's income was £2,000,000 per day less than its national expenditure. The British Government is under tremendous expense to maintain the "penny loaf," which costs it £1,000,000 a week, and the expense of maintaining military establishments in Ireland, India, Egypt, and elsewhere is enormous. Already its permanent internal interest charges amount to over £370,000,000 (and considerable sums are annually due abroad) as against a pre-war interest charge of £24,500,000. Computed in relation to the total man-power of the British Isles, the annual interest charge is more than £30 per man against an average earning capacity of £125 per man. Great Britain's finance Ministers merely juggle figures when they say the British budget balances. The imports of Great Britain have increased in value, roughly, from £600,000,000 in 1913 to almost £1,800,000,000 in 1918 (or taking it at a rate of exchange of five dollars to the pound, from $3,000,000,000 to $9,000,000,000). A superficial consideration of such data would give the impression that Great Britain had imported, apart from the increase in prices, a great deal for the purpose of increasing the production of its industries, with a view to larger exporting. In connection with that, I need only call attention to the Board of Trade figures from the first of January to the first of December, 1919, which show that while the increase in value of imports has almost quadrupled, yet in actual weight the imports had considerably decreased; that is, while in 1913 for a similar period, the imports were roughly 50,000,000 tons, in 1919 they were only about 35,500,000 tons, that is a decrease of nearly 15,000,000 tons in actual quantity. But more staggering still is the discovery that this decrease is mainly in wood and timber, which decreased from 11,000,000 tons to 6,300,000; and in metallic ores, including iron ore, which fell from 8,450,000 tons to 5,770,000 tons. These are the two primary commodities required not only to rehabilitate the decay and destruction consequent to the war, but also to enable the manufacturing of such articles as could be exported to a larger extent.

Such conditions, if properly analyzed, do not promise a stable outlook, and a banker, scrutinizing such borrower's statements as the European countries have to show, would reach a very quick and positive decision. Our Government has made it clear that it will not make further advances.

But it is not merely a question of future loans. We are already heavily involved in Europe. The world owes us as a nation $12,000,000,000 of notice loans, and it is estimated that additional obligations held by our industrial, financial, and commercial men amount to at least another $8,000,000,000. Our manufacturers have made many sales abroad on the exchange of foreign countries, and hold acceptances, or have drawn on foreign purchasers; and they have sold those drafts and acceptances to banks which in turn have discounted them under the Federal Reserve system. This paper has been renewed, and renewed, and renewed again, and is falling due and must be paid before long, at an already depreciated exchange of 30 per cent. to 60 per cent.

Immense quantities of American merchandise have been sent abroad, principally to Europe, on consignment, or placed in warehouses throughout the world, subject to order. Such consignments probably total $2,000,000,000. One wonders what will happen to our industry when it is called upon to make good at discounted rates of exchange the enormous amount covered by unpaid foreign drafts. The world is sitting upon a potential volcano that may begin its eruption at any time, with the result that the entire financial structure of the world, as we have grown accustomed to it, may be destroyed. That we in the United States are intensely, yes, vitally, interested in the situation is obvious. We cannot exist the only prosperous nation in a world of bankrupts. Our first duty, therefore, is to help the other countries to help themselves. All economists agree that there is but one solution now: more production, and the reduction of expenditures.

Foreign Trade and the Exchanges

THE following brief summary of the foreign trade figures for 1919 in the United States is taken from the February letter of the National City Bank.

The figures for the totals of this country's foreign trade in 1919 are now on hand. Imports amounted to $3,905,000,000 and exports to $7,922,000,000. For December the figures for imports were $381,000,000 and exports $681,000,000.

The figures by countries or grand divisions are not yet available for the entire year, but based upon eleven months they show that we were a creditor on a great scale to Europe and a debtor to South America and to Asia. Of the sum total of nearly $8,000,000,000 exports, over $5,000,000,000 went to Europe and we received less than $800,000,000 in goods from there in return.

On the other hand, we bought $631,591,000 worth in South America and sold $411,151,000 worth there, and bought $928,709,000 in Asia and sold $640,873,000 worth there, not including silver which is treated as bullion in settlement.

We sent approximately $175,000,000 worth of silver to Asia in eleven months of the year, with December to be reported. The total amount of silver exported during the same period to the whole world was $208,426,000.

Unfortunately we are unable to offset our credits in Europe against our debits in Asia and South America, for Europe is likewise debtor to Asia and South America. England in like manner is a creditor to the continent, but unable to use her credits there to settle her debits in America.

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The Portuguese Exchange Decree

THE substance of a recent decree regulating exchange in Portugal is printed below as reproduced from the *Diario de Noticias* in the London *Economic Review* for January 21. The omission of Articles IX and XI is not explained.

I. Permits the free export to foreign countries of national commodities and the reëxport of colonial and foreign commodities subject to the restrictions imposed by laws now in force and consistent with the provisions of this decree.

II. Orders that intending exporters and reëxporters to foreign countries shall register as such at the proper custom houses.

III. Orders that, to insure the entry into the country of the price (in gold) of the goods exported, etc., the registered exporters, etc., shall sign an annual bond or shall, with each consignment, produce a banker's declaration in the terms prescribed by the following clauses.

IV. Provides that the annual bond entered into by the interested party supported by two sureties, shall bind the exporter, etc., to sell in the country all money, bills of exchange, or securities representing gold acquired in exchange for exports, etc., or to make such sale to a bank, banker, or bill-broker, on the two working days following the dispatch of the goods, should the export, etc., be for cash dispatch of the goods in advance; or within a period of ninety days from the dispatch of the goods in the case of deferred payment or of sale on consignment.

(1) and (2) Provide for validity and duration of bond.

(3) Provides that where the exporter, etc., is the representative of a foreigner residing outside Portugal, the bond shall be replaced by another, whereby the exporters, etc., shall bind themselves to declare within the specified time the amount and value (gold) of the bills, etc., coming into the country, as payment for the goods exported, and the name of the bank to which they are sold.

(4) Provides for the substitution of another bond in the event of the goods exported being in exchange for other goods.

V. Provides, for the form of the banker's declaration referred to in Article III, that it shall state that the banker shall be responsible for the financial operation representing the business transaction and that it shall bind the banker to include such operation in his daily returns to the Council of Investigation of General Commerce and Exchange.

VI. Provides that, the above formalities having been complied with, exporters, etc., may dispatch their goods by the delivery in triplicate of the invoices, which shall state destination, quality, quantity, and value (as correctly as possible) of the goods, in the currency in which the bargain has been made. In the case of reëxports, a declaration containing the above particulars shall be substituted for the invoices.

VII. Provides that the declarations, invoices, etc., shall be countersigned by the customs authorities, who shall retain one copy and deliver the others to the consignor and the Council respectively.

VIII. Provides that any export, etc., operation not falling within the provisions of this decree shall be governed by Clause 14 of the decree of December 2.

X. Provides that the Minister of Finance shall only allow securities to be sent out of the country in exchange for remittances in specie, or a credit in foreign money.

(122) States the formalities necessary for obtaining such permission.

XII. Provides for the representation on the Council of Investigation of General Commerce and Exchange and on its branch at Oporto, of the Commercial, Industrial, and Shopkeepers' Associations.

On other branches of the Council similar local associations shall be represented.

Financial Recovery in Italy

THE *Anglo-Italian Review* (London) for January prints a discussion by Signor M. Ferraris, Senator and former Minister of the Crown, of the Italian exchange situation.

The rates of exchange on foreign countries and the mercantile freights are the two most serious problems of the present moment; they are chiefly responsible for the high prices now obtaining, and for the economic and social unrest among the peoples. To bring down the rates of the exchange and of the freights would mean the overcoming of the crisis which is sorely afflicting almost all the formerly belligerent countries of Europe, and, in especial degree, Italy, France, and Belgium.

It is an admitted but unfortunate fact that a high, unfavorable exchange is the surest index of the unsatisfactory general conditions of any country, such as external danger of complications leading to war, internal instability of order and social peace, adverse balances in Government and local budgets, excessive issues of paper money, heavy indebtedness to other countries, disinclination to economize on the part of public and private bodies, insufficient national production in relation to national expenditure, marked excess of imports over exports, and so on. . . .

To improve, or to control, therefore, the foreign exchange, which should be the chief endeavor of the Italian Treasury, a twofold mode of action is requisite, both permanent and temporary. As a permanent action I would place in the first line the necessity of a strong and thorough agrarian policy. This would enable us to import less (corn, meat, etc.) and to export more (wine, oil, vegetables, fruit, etc.). This would largely coöperate in raising the balance of trade and in increasing the nation's wealth to the general advantage of all classes, from landowners to peasants, and of all the districts of Italy, from the Alps to Sicily. . . .

Among the measures for producing a more speedy improvement in the rate of exchange, I would instance the coming to —and travelling in—the country of foreign visitors. Both France and Switzerland are busily engaged in attracting visitors, adopting such methods as are for us both an example and a warning. Italy does not realize sufficiently what a source of riches, influencing the rate of exchange, the influx of visitors would at once be to her, if encouraged energetically by the state and by private persons interested in such a movement. . . . In this connection certain recent decrees of the Minister Dante Ferraris are worthy of all praise, and they will, I hope, soon be put into extended and active execution.

Italy can only become herself again—especially as regards the exchange—by putting into practice a bold policy of energetic work all round, in agricultural matters, in the mercantile marine, in manufacturing concerns, in the financial world, in scholastic training, etc. It is just now of prime necessity to produce—in quality, better—in quantity, more; to study economy, and to increase the exports. This will necessarily be a gradual process, not to say a slow one. But active steps must be taken at once and betimes lest the house should burn down for want of the requisite forethought.

As a temporary but efficacious remedy Minister Schanzer has insisted on the necessity of an agreement between the Allied and Associated states for the obtaining of large loans to Europe on the part of America. This is the proposition advocated clearly and openly in France by prominent persons, such as Ministers Clémentel, Klotz, Loucheur, and others, with whom I had often the honor and pleasure of conversing, together with my friends, Conte di San Martino and Comm. G. Volpi. But America, so far, has absolutely refused.

In the United States two opposing currents are noticeable. The larger exporting firms are in favor of a generous loan by the United States to Europe. They fully understand that the

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impoverishment, or worse, of the older states would destroy the huge volume of American exports. But the proposal of a big loan by the United States to the Entente Powers—an annual sum of 15 to 20 milliards of francs is suggested—has raised doubts, objections, and opposition both in the case of the American Treasury and in that of the great bankers and industrial magnates who are not exporters. They are afraid of the costliness of living and of the consequent unrest at home. The problem has been minutely gone into by a prominent American banker of repute, Mr. Frank A. Vanderlip, who has written a most valuable book on the subject, entitled "What Happened to Europe." . . .

This marked contradiction in the point of view of persons competent to judge, and of the various groups of interests in America, does not however allow of forecasts being made. My confident hope is that, sooner or later, that view will prevail which is in America's true interest, for she cannot cut off her economic and social unity from that of Europe; nor could she show herself to better advantage at this moment than by the opening of very extensive credits on the part of both the state and private firms in the United States to the countries of the Entente.

Still, one must not indulge in vain hopes! America demands from Europe, as a preliminary condition, the withdrawal from circulation of the over-issue of paper money and the equalization of the public accounts and budgets. The realization of each of these objects must be energetically striven for in Italy. But it is also my duty to point out to the working classes that if they desire an amelioration of their conditions of living, of food, and of work, it is absolutely necessary that they should maintain public order and social peace; for without these no possible credit from abroad is to be looked for. . . .

It is necessary that the Allied Powers, who after all represent a very large proportion of the economic world, should let it be understood, in a friendly but firm and resolute manner, to all the creditor countries of America and of Europe, to Spain, to Switzerland, to Holland, to the United States, to Brazil, to the Argentine Republic, etc., that it is a matter of supreme necessity and of greatest interest to one and all that equable and just international agreements, arranged by means of a technical conference, together with monetary conventions, should put an end to the *sfruttamenti*, which threaten to uproot the very life and existence of the nations, whether belligerent or neutral. Seasonable action will prove the salvation of the social peace of the world.

The German Mark Commission

THE London *Economic Review* for January 28 summarizes, from an article in the *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, the statement of the German Commission to investigate the causes of the depreciation of the mark, recommending methods for preventing a further increase in floating debts and for obtaining long-term credits in Germany and abroad.

A report was presented containing guiding principles for import and export trade, and for price fixation at home in connection with the development of the exchange. The report is governed by two main ideas: reduction of import and increase of production and export. The import of food to the present extent, especially of food in its finished state, means too great a financial sacrifice, and the Commission, therefore, strongly recommends that the import be limited to raw materials, i. e., to grain for bread and fodder, rather than bacon, lard, and flour.

The import of articles *de luxe* is also to be stringently restricted, including wine and coffee, chocolate and tobacco products, also of completed products in general.

The report also demands strict control of the import of raw materials, and calls for the reintroduction of the import prohibition in regard to textile raw materials. It is also emphasized that the reëxport of raw materials which Germany in her present need can dispense with must be encouraged and strictly supervised.

The revival of production is, however, the only means which promises improvement of the exchange for any length of time. Germany must work more than the countries which have won the war, and this must be made clear in every German workshop. The greatest hindrance to production is the coal shortage. The report calls for a speedy increase in the number of miners' dwellings, the opening up of new lignite and potash deposits, and a speedy development of electrical working, especially where water power is available.

The development of export industries must be controlled with regard to prices. Almost as important as export for its indirect effect on the exchange is the increase of agricultural production for the home market. The report therefore asks for an examination of the prices to ascertain whether they correspond with the cost of production suggests that the delivery premiums for bread grain are too low to stimulate production, and asks for the future prices to be published as soon as possible, so that farmers may make their arrangements for the spring sowing.

The claim often raised that prices should be adjusted to the world market is rejected in the report as leading to higher wages and further paper inflation.

Austria's Prospects

THE following rather optimistic consideration by Dr. Paul Kaufmann of Vienna of the financial situation in Austria is summarized in the *Economic Review* (London) for January 28.

Vienna is full of foreign buyers, who are not content with purchasing newly manufactured industrial products, but are making every effort to obtain gold and silver articles, collections, antiques, second-hand furniture, etc. Exchange conditions enable them to acquire such things comparatively cheap, while, on the other hand, the price reckoned in kronen is still high enough to induce owners to sell. It is obvious that such exports are not nearly large enough to satisfy the vast demand for foreign payment media for the purchase of foodstuffs and raw materials, especially as a large portion of the purchase money is not brought into circulation, but put by for a rainy day.

In spite of these facts, Dr. Kaufmann deprecates the pessimism which prevails abroad as to Austria's economic prospects. It is true that the position of the country, which is small and has little coal and grain at its disposal, is serious, but it will be able to obtain the means of fulfilling its obligations and of procuring the most requisite imports, provided that no further war indemnities are required of it. The coal shortage, the chief cause of the country's difficulties, ought to be remedied in one or two years, especially as it is due less to diminished output than to a lack of transport media. If once the industries can obtain coal, they will be able to develop great export activities, notably those which employ home raw materials. The difficulties confronting import and the facilities offered to export owing to the depreciation of the currency are bound to result in the establishment of new factories, as has already been the case in the furniture industry, and while this will not entirely wipe out the vast deficit in the country's trade balance, it will decrease it.

Two important sources of money are at the disposal of the country for the payment of foreign accounts. The one is the large amount of property in the new National States owned by Austrians, which is valued at several milliards. It consists not only of shares and debentures, but of part proprietorships of private businesses, branch factories, real estate, etc. At the moment, in consequence of embargoes on payment, and the temporary cessation of the redemption of coupons in Hungary,

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the influx of money from this source is small, but it will soon resume its normal level and then will prove a valuable support to the country's trade balance. To it will have to be added the profits which Vienna will make without doubt in future from her position as commercial and credit intermediary between the National States and a part of the East. It is already apparent that the efforts of the National States to emancipate themselves from Vienna are having little success, and that the artificial restrictions on inter-State commerce will sooner or later disappear. Even the migration of industrial undertakings whose factories are in the National States seems likely to be more limited than had been feared. Finally, foreign tourist traffic will prove an important item in the country's balance-sheet and the action of the Peace Conference in forbidding the dispersal of the national collections was a blessing in disguise.

Currency Chaos and Unrest in Poland

THE following account of the effect upon the public of the depreciation of the Polish mark is taken from an article in the London *Morning Post* of January 14 from its Warsaw correspondent.

Nothing in the present situation of Poland holds greater menace than the condition of the country's exchange. The bottom has literally dropped out of the Polish mark, and almost every business day continues to bring a fresh decline. The pound sterling fetches upwards of 470 marks; three months ago the figure was 129 and nine months ago 70. The dollar fetches upwards of 130; three months ago the figure was 35 and nine months ago 16. The franc is above 12, representing a steady drop from the rate of two marks for one franc in the early part of last year. The causes are very evident: inability to establish foreign credits or secure a foreign loan, continued idleness in the great textile centre of Lodz, where close upon two hundred thousand men are still unemployed for want of machine parts and raw materials, lack of capital and organization for the proper exploitation of natural resources, political uncertainty, and so forth.

Of course, such a situation tends to corrode the very fabric of the country. It makes it practically impossible for the Polish business man to buy pounds or dollars or francs for trade with England, America, or France. Within the past month there have been frantic endeavors by merchants here to cancel orders placed in those countries. The magnitude of this movement it would be hard to exaggerate. . . .

Another effect of the exchange rates is that all retail establishments are being rapidly stripped of their stocks. It would be impossible for prices to keep pace with the drop of the mark, if for no other reason than that any attempt at adjustment would put everything, even necessaries, utterly beyond the reach of persons earning their money in Polish marks. Consequently there is scarcely an article of trade that is not ridiculously cheap when reckoned in pounds, dollars, or francs; a suit of clothes made by best tailors from pre-war material figures out at about four pounds, and a pair of boots made to order from Russian leather can be secured for the equivalent of two pounds. The result has been that the army of British, American, and French gathered in Warsaw, and supplied with their own currencies, has been indulging in an orgy of buying.

The feeling on the matter among the Poles is very strong. Prices are iniquitously, inhumanly high for them, and the popular tendency is to place a large measure of the blame on the foreign invasion. Certain it is that there is great deprivation in the country. It is not necessary to amplify the idea in order to make it apparent that the present discontent and growing radicalism of Poland is intimately related to the exchange situation. Other causes contribute, such as the food shortage, continued military conscription, unemployment, taxes, and so forth. But appalling prices, consequent upon a nearly valueless mark, intensify tenfold all other evils, and are a major cause, if not the major cause, of Poland's unrest, which finds its chief expression in more and more insistent demands for legislation that verges more nearly upon confiscation and cannot ultimately make for stability.

And then, again, this increasingly noisy radicalism reacts upon the country and the value of the mark, frightening away capital that might have been tempted to come in largely on faith in the nation's ultimate destiny. Poland is today caught in a supremely vicious circle, which will not be broken until the mark has been rehabilitated. All of which doubtless contributed to the attitude of the Minister of the present Government who remarked the other day, after he had been reviewing some aspects of the nation's present dilemma: "I am not at all sure that we were not much happier, much better off generally during the days of the German occupation than we are now as a *protégé* of the Allied Powers."

Financial Results of the War

THE following table shows the ratio of gold to notes in the principal countries of the world. It may be noted in this connection that since 1914 world paper currency has increased 600 per cent., and the gold reserve only 40 per cent., while the world national debts have grown from 40 to 260 billions since 1914.

	1914 (Millions)	Nov., 1918 (Millions)	Dec., 1919 (Millions)
Face value of paper currency of thirty leading countries	7,250	40,000	50,000
Note circulation: Germany, Austria-Hungary, Turkey, Bulgaria	1,200	12,300	18,770
Note circulation: Allies (including Russia to October, 1917).	4,900	25,000	30,000
Gold reserve: Allies.....	3,763	.....	5,070
Ratio of gold to notes: Allies..	76.6%	20.9%	17.1%
Note circulation: Eight principal neutrals	1,166	.....	2,420
Gold Reserve: Eight principal neutrals	516	.....	1,450
Ratio of gold to notes: Eight principal neutrals	44.3%	.....	59.9%
Note circulation: United States	1,056	3,643	4,051
Gold Reserve: United States...	1,023	.....	2,107
Ratio gold to notes: United States	99.6%	.....	52.3%

The Ruble in South Russia

THE correspondent at Rostov of the London *Economist* contributes to the issue of January 24 an account of the economic condition in southern Russia, from which is taken the following discussion of the export trade and the value of the ruble.

Apart from the internal chaos, the South Russian Government is faced with the fall in the value of the ruble, a fall so considerable as to make it no longer a possible medium of foreign trade. There are in the first place several sorts of rubles. The old Imperial rubles, the so-called "Nicholas rubles," are no longer in common use, but are at a premium—about 5.1—above the ordinary currency issued by General Denikin, the so-called "Don rubles." Then there are a certain number of "Kerenskies," i. e., notes issued by the Provisional Government in 1917, and nicknamed, with a slight elision, after the man who at present is the most unpopular person in any part of Russia. These, so far as they have come my way, are mainly for small sums, twenty and forty rubles. In the old days these would not have been small amounts. Then twenty rubles were

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equivalent to over two pounds; today twenty rubles represent on the exchange, with Allied or neutral money, a little less than fourpence! The rubles are continually fluctuating, with the result that no one any longer knows whether tomorrow they will be worth anything or nothing. Up till the present time the South Russian Government has made no attempt to stabilize its currency by exporting its surplus grain, etc. This has all been held up against the anticipated capture of Moscow. With the recent setbacks at the front, however, a more liberal spirit has begun to work, and there is a move towards the direction of freer exports. So far the following goods have not been licensed for export: wool, benzine, grain, metals, ores, hides, coal, tobacco, salt, potash, soda, salomas, alcohol, oil cake, and Government wines. It is true that in exceptional cases permits to export such goods have been granted to a few favored individuals, but, speaking broadly, nothing has been done. All that remained for export were old rubber, bristles, cement, licorice root, guts, hide scrapings, dry blood, horsehair, horns, hooves, and a few other goods of this nature. In short, the South Russian Government has successfully blockaded itself against the outside world, with disastrous results to its own economic position. It is not necessary to look for German or pro-German intrigue in this behavior. Our own vacillating policy towards the South Russian Government is responsible for much more of their difficulties than any definite aim or policy of their own. The German is trying to get in here, but so far his efforts have been totally unsuccessful.

During the last few days, however, a new scheme for freeing exports has been sanctioned by the Government. Details are not yet published, but it is supposed that a certain number of goods hitherto forbidden export will now be licensed on condition that a certain percentage of the foreign currency derived from their sale will be handed over to the Government here, either by a special tax in foreign currency, or by the surrender of a definite proportion (40 per cent.) of the currency itself. Whether this new measure, hedged about as it is likely to be with a mass of conditions and restrictions, will actually lead up to a real improvement it is difficult to say. In the opinion of a very well-informed and acute English observer of conditions here, there is little hope of the economic situation in South Russia improving until the country calms down—this presupposes the defeat of the Bolsheviki, the settlement of the separatist strivings of certain political adventurers in various parts of the country, and the destruction of the bandit "Green Armies" who harass the countryside—and there is a possibility of restoring transport and industry. Order is the first requisite, and it is more than doubtful if the Russians, exhausted by the catastrophes of the last five years, are any longer in a position to reëstablish order inside their own country without our aid.

Note Inflation in the Far East

THE London *Economist* for January 31 publishes the following account of the currency situation in Manchuria and Eastern Siberia.

Since the prohibition of dealings in rubles in the chief markets of the world, the ruble exchanges of the Far East have acquired a new importance. At Tokio, Shanghai, Newchwang, and Harbin, it has still been possible to buy and sell rubles, and therefore it is in these markets that the financial effects of the struggle against the Bolsheviki have shown themselves. These effects have been particularly well marked in Harbin, which is the meeting-point of Russian, Japanese, and Chinese interests, and they have been as melancholy as well marked.

At this port of entry to Siberia the predominance of the ruble was formerly assured by the Chinese Eastern Railway, a Russian implement of more or less peaceful penetration which dominated the economic and political life of Northern Manchuria. Whatever currency the railway took for freight, and paid out for wages, was necessarily the chief money of the territory it served. Moreover, the Chinese Eastern Railway was and is a link in the great trans-continental line. It carried goods into Russian territory, and those goods were paid for in rubles. In South Manchuria the Japanese control of the South Manchurian Railway gave a similar predominance to the yen. But today the Chinese Eastern Railway has had to abandon the ruble in paying its workmen, and revise its tariff in a way which practically abandons that money as tender for its freights. This action has been forced upon it by the breakdown of the ruble currency in Harbin.

The "ruble" in this connection is not a single uniform currency. In Siberia and North Manchuria last spring it had the following components:

"Romanovs"—a few notes of the State Bank issued under the late dynasty, and still in circulation. They were mostly of small denomination, and the total amount quite inconsiderable, not enough to pay the monthly wages bill of the Chinese Eastern Railway.

"Kerenskies"—another issue of the State Bank, made under the authority of the last recognized all-Russian Government. They were of 1,000 and 250 rubles denomination, and it has been estimated that at least the value of 500,000,000 rubles were in circulation in the Far-Eastern market. The Chinese call them "Green Money."

"Kerenkies," or more familiarly, "Beer labels," on account of a striking resemblance to the latter in color, size, shape, material, and execution—tokens of 20 rubles and 40 rubles, printed originally by the Kerensky Government, and afterwards the favorite issue of the Bolsheviki and innumerable forgers. They were withdrawn in May, 1919.

"Omsk Money" or "Yellow Money"—an issue of 5 per cent. Treasury bills made legal tender. The larger denominations were an unduly large proportion of the whole, the 5,000 bill being particularly common, and much imitated by forgers. The total issue by the Provisional—and unrecognized—Government was put at a little less than five billion rubles at the end of April, of which about forty millions were "small change notes" bearing no interest.

"Horvath notes" and miscellaneous—the Russo-Asiatic Bank issued notes printed in America, which were not necessarily redeemable in any currency, but were declared acceptable by it at certain of its branches, and at any station on the Chinese Eastern Railway, in lieu of "Kerenskies." They were named after General Horvath, head of the Government of Eastern Siberia and of the Chinese Eastern Railway. These were not even certificates of the deposit of "Kerenskies" by the Russo-Asiatic Bank, though a reserve of torn "Kerenskies" to the amount of about 10,000,000 rubles was ultimately built up by the bank in the course of its operations. Yet these rather irregular notes were a perfect godsend in the scarcity of small change, and commanded a premium. And lastly, there was a miscellaneous assortment of loan coupons, Liberty Loan Certificates, Romanov postage stamps struck to celebrate the tercentenary of that dynasty, issues of local banks, Soviet issues, tradesmen's tokens, and cash vouchers, the less irregular of which were computed at about 600,000,000 rubles more or less. There was a gymkhana at Vladivostok, and the parimutuel printed counters on a kind of blotting paper. They went into circulation in the town! Indeed, any colorable imitation of a small note was gladly accepted.

Of the above, only the "Kerensky" and "Romanov" notes were freely dealt in for foreign exchange, because they were the only kinds which the Chinese would buy and keep as a speculation. It was a case in which the dead lion was better than the living dog. The Czar might be dead, Kerensky in exile, and both their Governments gone, but their money was still better than the paper of Kolchak. For though Kolchak was active, and head of a Government at Omsk, he was dependent upon the Allies, who helped him in all ways short of recognition, and thereby damned his credit with faint praise. As long, therefore, as the Kerensky notes were undoubtedly genuine, they were bought by Chinese

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and Japanese investors "averaging" as the rate sank under a constant adverse balance of payment. These much-abused speculators alone prevented the complete collapse of the ruble.

Upon this narrow basis of the local circulation of a defunct Government's money the finance of Siberia's war requirements and her trade depended. The "Kerenskies" were localized in Harbin and its subsidiary markets, because they had been driven out of Siberia by the competition of a cheaper medium of payment. "Omsk money" was legal tender in Siberia; in Harbin there is no legal tender, and the premium on "Kerenskies" being at that time 15 per cent., Gresham's Law in its most general form was in full operation, and "Kerenskies" were both hoarded in Siberia and exported thence to Harbin. Needless to say, all metallic money had long since disappeared. The cheaper medium grew still cheaper. The Finance Minister at Omsk could obtain no considerable credits abroad until Kolchak was recognized by the Allies, and he was faced by a monthly deficit of some hundreds of millions of rubles. True, he had about 65,000,000 pounds sterling in gold and platinum, the remnant of the Imperial Gold Reserve, but that was cover for vast issues. There was no resource left but the issue of more and more "Omsk Money." But however inevitable, this proceeding was absolutely fatal to any chance of getting the "Omsk Money" accepted as payment for foreign exchange, if indeed there ever was a chance. Importers were now obliged to pay an increasing premium in "Omsk Money" for the "Kerenskies," with which alone they could buy credits abroad.

This basis of currency upon which exchange operations depended was not only narrow, it was shrinking and crumbling daily as the irreplaceable "Kerenskies" wore out. Anything which discredited that issue would soon make foreign exchange impossible, and events soon occurred which discredited it very effectually.

Japanese Business

THE following account of the trade situation in Japan is condensed from an article in *Chugai Shogo* (Tokio) reprinted in the *Japanese Chronicle* (Kobe) for January 15.

The war has introduced a great change in all spheres of human activity, but the greatest change of all is likely to be experienced by the economic world. When the armistice was concluded toward the end of year before last, a commercial depression set in for fear that Japanese industries would be unfavorably affected by the growth of after-the-war activities in Europe and the cessation of demands for war supplies there; but owing to the complication of international politics and the frequent recurrence of labor troubles in Europe since then, industries were not restored so rapidly as had been expected, the shortage of goods continued to make itself felt almost as severely as it did during the war, and it was realized that in Europe they had yet but little margin of energy left for economic operations overseas. The economic world in this country began to revive. The specie holdings accumulated during the war continued to increase. In the belief in a continuation of the boom there was an unprecedented increase in business enterprises. As a necessary result, the demand for capital increased enormously and the note issue was inflated to an unprecedented extent. Foreign trade resulted in an excess of imports over exports, the cash in hand at the banks decreased, and the money market threatened to become tighter. The Bank of Japan twice raised its interest rates in order to check the inordinate expansion of the financial world, which has thus been enabled to enter upon the new year on a comparatively sound basis.

As to the conditions of the economic world in the future, the question has to be carefully considered from various points of view. Foreign trade, which resulted in an enormous excess of exports during the war, showed an excess of imports last year, the chief cause being that while the export of war supplies ceased on the one hand, there was a considerable increase in the import of cereals, raw cotton, wool, and other daily necessaries as well as machinery and raw material made necessary by the expansion of business activities for several years past. Many people have grave fears for this year's foreign trade, since the export of goods to Europe will practically be at an end and though the rise in the price of silver may at first sight appear favorable to export trade with the Far East, the chief exports from Japan to that part of the world are cotton yarn, cotton textiles, and other goods which are essential to this nation. Exports to America may remain active so long as the economic boom lasts in that country; but in view of the present exhaustion of Europe it is somewhat doubtful whether the American economic world will continue as flourishing as at present. On the other hand, the import of machinery and raw materials threatens to increase more than ever. So it is feared that owing to the decrease in exports on the one hand and the increase in imports on the other, the specie which was accumulated during the war will again flow out of the country. This fear is not justified for two reasons. The great increase in imports last year was due also to the increase in the import of cereals. At present, however, the quantity of cereals in stock in Japan is believed to be much larger, thanks to the good crop of last autumn, while the shortage of the same merchandise abroad is greater this year than it was last. It will, therefore, not be practicable for Japan to import a large quantity of cereals hereafter. For machinery and raw materials there will indeed be an increased demand, but the restoration of production in Europe and America must take time and so there cannot be any considerable increase in the import of these goods during the current year. On the other hand export trade will be severely affected in case hard times overtake America, but its financial resources were so abundantly replenished during the war that it is now the great reservoir of capital for the world, and it is hardly likely that it will soon be reduced to a state of depression. Viewed in this light, although there are signs of an increase in exports, it is unlikely that the condition of trade will be entirely revolutionized in the near future. It is also hoped that the balance of receipts in freight and insurance will be favorable to Japan and therefore that there will not be a period of depression this year.

The shortage of goods brought about by the war is not easy to overcome, and it is impossible speedily to deflate the numerous convertible notes which were issued during the war. In these circumstances, a rise in prices all over the world is inevitable; and as the shortage of goods and rise in prices are always profitable to producers, so long as things continue in the present state, the business world will remain as active as ever. No wonder that the capital involved in business schemes formed during last year (up to the end of November) reached the enormous sum of 3,400,000,000 yen; and should companies be extended or newly organized this year at the same rate, the total amount of capital involved will be about 7,000,000,000 yen. Although the sum of about 3,300,000,000 yen has flowed into this country since the outbreak of the war, this is insignificant compared with the capital in the business schemes formed since that time. So, should things go on at this rate, there will be an inevitable shortage of capital accompanied by a rise in the rate of interest and tightening of the money market. These considerations lead to the conclusion that the business world has already past the meridian of activity and is going on its downward course.

The Future of Indian Exchange

THE Committee on Indian Currency and Exchange in Great Britain has recently issued a report which has in substance been adopted by the India Office. The recommendations of the Committee aim to restore stability to the rupee and to maintain the convertibility of the Indian paper currency. The rise in exchange, tending to counterbalance

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the rise in Indian prices, has been of benefit to the country, and the Committee, therefore, holds that the fixing of exchange at a high level will not in the long run prove injurious to Indian trade. A summary of the chief recommendations of the Committee, taken from the London *Morning Post* of February 3, follows:

(a) That the present rupee unchanged in weight and fineness should remain unlimited legal tender.

(b) That the rupee should have a fixed exchange value, and that this exchange value should be expressed in terms of gold at the rate of one rupee for 11.30016 grains of fine gold, that is, one-tenth of the gold content of the sovereign.

(c) That the sovereign, which is now rated by law at 15 rupees, should be made a legal tender in India at the revised ratio of 10 rupees to one sovereign.

(d) That the import and export of gold to and from India should be free from Government control as soon as the change in the statutory ratio has been effected, and that the gold mint at Bombay should be open for the coinage into sovereigns of gold tendered by the public.

(e) That the notification of the Government undertaking to give rupees for sovereigns should be withdrawn.

(f) That the prohibition on the private import and export of silver should be removed in due course, and that the import duty on silver should be repealed unless the fiscal position demands its retention.

The Secretary of State in Council has considered the report in conjunction with the Government of India. It is officially stated that the recommendations just alluded to develop, with the necessary modifications required by altered circumstances, the principles on which the Indian currency system was established before the war, and are accepted by the Secretary of State in Council as expressing the goal toward which Indian currency policy should now be directed. The arguments advanced in favor of a gold basis and a high rate of exchange appear to the Secretary of State in Council to be conclusive, and he has decided to take the necessary steps to give immediate effect to the recommendations on these points. Accordingly the Government of India announce that the rate which they will pay for gold tendered to them under the Gold Import Act by private importers will henceforth be fixed at one rupee for 11.30016 grains of fine gold, that is, 10 rupees for the gold content of the sovereign.

The question of the internal ratio presents special difficulties. The Committee recommend the maintenance of gold on a legal-tender footing, especially in view of possible difficulties in obtaining adequate supplies of silver. A fixed ratio must therefore be established between the rupee and gold as used in the internal circulation, either one sovereign for 15 rupees as at present or one sovereign for 10 rupees in correspondence with the new exchange ratio. A gradual process of rectification and adjustment to new conditions is required. For some time past action has been taken in India to reduce the premium on gold by regular Government sales of bullion to the public, and this measure will be further developed. It may be expected that in this way a natural adjustment may be effected and the path to legislation cleared.

The Secretary of State has decided therefore (1) that the import of gold shall continue, for the present, to be controlled by license under the Gold Import Act with a fixed acquisition rate as mentioned above, (2) that meanwhile periodical sales of gold bullion to the public shall continue, and (3) that as a provisional measure during the transitional period the sovereign shall remain a legal tender at the present ratio of 15 rupees.

In regard to India Council drafts and imports of gold into India, it is officially announced that the acquisition rate for gold imported under license into India has now been fixed, and the following fixed rates will apply to transactions on and after today, viz.: 10 rupees for each sovereign tendered for import, or 1 rupee for 11.30016 grains of fine gold.

Council drafts will continue to be offered at the Secretary of State's discretion for weekly sale at the Bank of England by competitive tender. The rate for deferred telegraphic transfers and bills will, until further notice, rank for allotment with tenders at 1-16d. higher for immediate telegraphic transfers. No announcement will be made of the minimum rate at which tenders will be accepted. The Government of India will, when occasion requires, offer for sale stated weekly amounts of Sterling Reverse Drafts on the Secretary of State (including immediate telegraphic transfers). The rate for deferred drafts on London will, until further notice, be 1-16d. higher than the immediate rate as at present.

Events of the Week

FEBRUARY 15. The French Minister of the Interior has dismissed from office the Socialist Mayor of Brest because of his refusal to allow a patriotic demonstration in the city in honor of the men wounded in the war. The Sub-Prefect of the district is also to be removed.

Mr. N. W. Rowell, Canadian Acting Secretary of State for External Affairs and President of the Privy Council, announced at a meeting of War Veterans at Ottawa that Canada would not assent to ratification of the treaty of peace by the United States if the Lenroot reservation, depriving Canada of its independent voting power in the League of Nations, was adopted.

FEBRUARY 16. A dispatch from Peking announced that the Foreign Legations at that city have notified the Chinese Foreign Office that Great Britain, France, the United States, and Japan are prepared to allow a loan to China, issued by a group of banks and secured by the salt and other revenues, providing negotiations between the North and the South are resumed and unnecessary troops disbanded. Such a loan, it was announced at Washington, would not be considered a part of the proposed Consortium, but a temporary advance to meet the urgent needs of China. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont, of J. P. Morgan and Company, is reported to be on the way to China in the interests of this loan.

Mr. George Lansbury, editor of the London *Daily Herald*, who is in Moscow, sent a radio message to Premier Lloyd George urging him to go to Moscow to confer with Premier Lenin.

FEBRUARY 17. The Hungarian Government has proposed the establishment of free trade with Austria, in return for the assent of the Austrian Government to the holding of a plébiscite in western Hungary, which was assigned by the Treaty of St. Germain to Austria.

Owing to the high rate of exchange, transportation difficulties, and the scarcity of food, the Italian Council of Ministers has decided to reëstablish the card system in use during the war for the distribution of bread, rice, macaroni, coal, and fats.

It was reported in London that revolution had broken out in Vladivostok, Nikolsk, Yenishiesk, and Blagovestchensk, where authority is now in the hands of a Provisional Government and a union with Soviet Russia is proposed.

FEBRUARY 18. It was announced at Ottawa that legislation would be introduced during the coming session of the Canadian Parliament defining the status of the proposed Canadian representative at Washington.

M. Paul Deschanel was installed as President of France, succeeding M. Raymond Poincaré. One of the first acts of the new President was the preparation of a wide grant of amnesty to political prisoners in France.

FEBRUARY 23. The report of the capture of Archangel, announced on February 21, was confirmed by a dispatch to M. Litvinov at Copenhagen. The capture of Murmansk was also announced, and the whole of North Russia is declared to be in the hands of the Bolsheviki.

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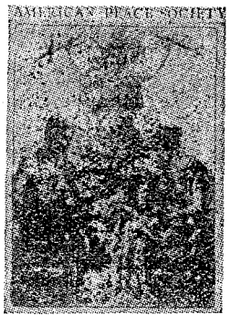

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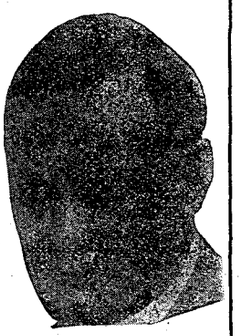

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